Vol. VIII., No. 30 *June, 1919*

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

OF

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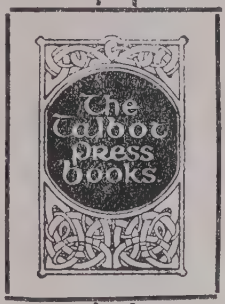

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Correspondent of *America* at the Peace Conference.

I.

IN the month of January there arrived in Paris copies of a resolution passed at a public meeting in Montreal, Canada. The resolutions were drawn up under the belief that the gospel of national freedom preached by President Wilson had a bearing upon the case of Ireland, and that the Peace Conference was to be the medium of their application. When the position came to be examined, the question arose: What has the Peace Conference got to do with Ireland? And it was a pertinent question. Up to that time, and for some weeks afterwards, the Peace Conference was limited in its operations. It was engaged in making a formal end of the war with Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey. It was engaged in dismembering those four countries, in setting up new states in Eastern Europe, and in dividing between France, England, Italy and Japan the odds and ends of the former possessions of the defeated Empires. There was no room for the suggestion that the Conference should busy itself with the affairs of the victorious nations. There was no door, therefore, through which Ireland could enter and claim a hearing.

In course of time, however, a door was opened. Mr. Wilson adhered to his idea that peace in the future was to be secured by a League of Nations, and when the foundations of the League were laid there appeared,

among other dispositions, the mutual guarantee of territorial integrity covered by Article Ten of the League Convention. The moment this Article appeared it was clear that the scope of the Conference's work had been enlarged. Not only were the possessions of the defeated powers being distributed; the possessions of the victorious powers were being guaranteed. Not only were German, Austrian, Russian and Turkish titles to their former possessions being abrogated, but English, French, Japanese and American titles to their possessions were being re-affirmed. It was urged by men engaged in the work of the Conference that giving guarantee of a title involves prior examination of the title, and that the proposal to guarantee should carry with it the right of opponents to be heard. The idea that the fact of possession was to be taken as conclusive justification of that possession did not appeal to men whose respect for the canons of law had not been blunted by their preoccupations as statesmen in times of war. Article Ten, as one distinguished jurist observed, amounted to a declaration that while the possession of Poland by Germany and Russia, of Bohemia and Croatia by Austria, of Armenia by Turkey, were inherently wrong, the possession of Corea by Japan, of the Philippines by America, of Morocco by France, of the Dodecanese by Italy, of Ireland and Gibraltar by England, always had been right, were right now and always would be right. The members of the League were entering upon an undertaking by which they bound their peoples to respect and preserve both the newly acquired freedom of the Poles and Bohemians and the newly affirmed subjection of the Irish and the Coreans. The work of the Peace Conference had been extended to that.

It was at this point that the first of Mr. Wilson's chickens came home to roost. He was informed, on behalf of Ireland, that the people of that country had followed his political course with interest and had wel-

comed the enunciation of his principles of international policy; that under the prompting of his speeches Ireland had sought and obtained an opportunity of declaring her purpose to be free; that, still under his inspiration, an Irish elected government had been established and the existence of a republic proclaimed; and that therefore a protest was respectfully lodged against the guarantee proposed to be given to England to continued possession of Ireland. This protest was addressed by Mr. O'Kelly, representing Ireland in Paris, to the Chairman and the other members of the Peace Conference as well as to Mr. Wilson, and the demand was made that the three delegates nominated by the Dáil Eireann be given safe conducts and summoned to Paris.

II.

In the meantime events were moving on the other side of the Atlantic. The armistice liberated feelings which had been long pent up, and Irish America was making its voice heard and its influence felt.

The period from April, 1917, to December, 1918, was one of great difficulty for friends of Ireland in America. In 1916 a tempest had swept across the continent, following General Maxwell's proceedings in the weeks after the Dublin rising. The instinct of the people recognised the recurrence of the thing which in every great crisis reveals the truth about the feeling of England towards Ireland. The executions were productive of results which Pearse in his most exalted daydreams might not have foreseen. Men who had never given Ireland a second thought became Irish in an hour. Naturally there was no concealment of the anger against England. As it happened, however, it was not against England that events were forcing the government of the United States to declare war, nor was it against England that the President was to launch millions of young men

in arms. When Irish America saw how the current was running, it prepared for the work of war and postponed the assertion of its concern for Ireland. True, there were exceptions. There were times and places in which it was difficult for an outsider to distinguish what was anti-English from what was pro-German, and the American people were not in the humour for making nice distinctions. They called it Irish and decided there must be no more of it. Thus it came about that, whereas in January, 1917, there was a more widespread manifestation of interest in Ireland than at any time in living memory, by January, 1918, a condition had been reached in which Ireland was practically tabooed. It was the logical outcome of such a situation that men who before had gone rather far in their defiances now subjected themselves to immovable restraints. One hardy old Roman kept his flag flying in face of persecutions, public and private, and a few who would ordinarily be thought moderates kept the fires aglow. Take it all in all, the period from April, 1917, when the young Irish-Americans flocked to the colours, until October, 1918, when their names were thick in the daily casualty lists, was the most difficult that Irish propaganda in America has ever gone through.

Then there was the rebound.

After each of Mr. Wilson's speeches men would say to each other, "Something worth while for Ireland will come out of all this yet." There never was one of the President's utterances that did not contain one or more paragraphs which seemed to have been designed to focus attention upon the case of Ireland. There is one passage in his Opera House speech of September which might have been written as an expanded definition of the policy of Sinn Fein. There may be those who think that all this was designed by the speaker to bring comfort to the hearts of Poles and Bohemians and to stop there. There were at least half a million men of Irish blood in the American uniform

who were convinced to the contrary, and whose parents and relatives were glad to believe and did believe that the President was mindful of Ireland. As this process of education went on, as the President substituted his own brand of Irish propaganda for the kind that was being suppressed by the departments of his government, new signs began to appear. A petition on behalf of Irish freedom, couched in Wilsonian language, and signed by the Catholic archbishop of San Francisco and all the clergy of that diocese, was forwarded to Washington, and proved the forerunner of others. The Catholic Bishop of Northampton in England, visiting his episcopal brethren in the United States on a quasi-diplomatic mission, very quickly sensed the importance to be attached to Ireland. A series of five articles written by Dr. W. J. Maloney and published in *America*, pronounced by one who has been for forty years in the forefront of Irish movements in the United States as the most signal service rendered to Ireland in America in all that time, began to appear in mid-October. They had the double effect of stimulating interest and initiating effort, and their influence was soon seen in a series of meetings, which began in New York and Philadelphia in mid-December. By mid-January meetings were in progress all over the country. In the third week of February the climax was reached at a convention held at Philadelphia, by all odds the most notable demonstration ever held in America in support of the Irish cause. In March there was an Irish meeting being held every night in every large city in the United States.

The Philadelphia convention was a direct echo of the Wilson ideology. The men who went to it had their sons in the war, or their brothers in the war, or had been to the war themselves. Many of them had never actively responded to the appeals made in earlier days by visiting Irish leaders. The Catholic hierarchy, which had seconded every effort of the American administration for the good of the men under arms, which had sent its priests to

follow the youth of its communion from their churches to the trenches, and which had encouraged and supported the magnificent lay effort of the Knights of Columbus in the camps and in the field, was represented at the Convention by Cardinal Gibbons and forty bishops and archbishops. The Convention based its resolution upon the teachings of Washington and of Wilson, and gave the weight of its approval to the recent exercise by Ireland of the right of self-determination. By way of further affirming its purposes, it arranged for a deputation to see Mr. Wilson and for another to proceed to Paris. Mr. Wilson gave the first delegation a sympathetic hearing on the eve of his return to Paris, and within a few weeks he was followed thither by the second delegation.

III.

The members of the Paris delegation were admirably chosen. Mr. Frank P. Walsh, the chairman, has won his way to a position of national prominence as a fighter for democratic causes. Friends and beneficiaries of economic privilege do not like Mr. Walsh, and with cause. Organised and unorganised Labour does like Mr. Walsh, also with cause. Some years ago he was chairman of a committee to investigate certain plutocratic " foundations " (a Wilson appointment). The favourite reproach against him was that he failed to maintain a judicial pose. His answer was that the truth was what he was after, and he meant to get it. He did get it. During the war he was named joint chairman, with ex-President Taft, of a board to have oversight of industrial conditions, then much subject to disturbance. Mr. Walsh was clearly indicated as the guardian of the interests of Labour. He has always kept in touch with movements for the support of the Irish cause, but this is the first time he has taken off his coat and rolled up his sleeves. Mr. Wilson's speeches have had a good deal to do with that, and now Mr. Wilson has the

opportunity of explaining wherein, if at all, Mr. Walsh was wrong in his estimation of the import of the presidential attitude.

Mr. Edward F. Dunne is of a different order of personality. He is the kind of man who gets elected to office in America, because everybody respects him and because, even when fighting hard for his side, he does not provoke personal antagonisms. He was twice elected judge. He was elected Mayor of Chicago. He was elected Governor of Illinois. His contact with Ireland dates from his youth, his father having a predilection for T.C.D. as a place to form a boy's mind. Mr. Dunne knows as well as the next man the currents of feeling which account for the shiftings of political support in the United States. His presence in Paris as a member of this delegation is a sign of the new spirit, whose origins I have attempted to outline, which has taken possession of the Irish movement in America.

Mr. Michael J. Ryan has been for many years at the head of organised support for Irish political purposes in North America. He, more than any other man, is entitled to the credit for the financial support upon which the Irish Party depended in the difficult days. He is an orator of circumstance, but it is as chairman of a meeting that he brings into play oratorical gifts against which no breeches pocket is safe. Mr. Ryan always believed in Mr. Redmond. He was not able to agree with Mr. Redmond that England could be trusted to keep her word. The withholding of Home Rule was more convincing to him than the assent of Parliament and the affixing of the king's signature. This is the explanation of his position from the outbreak of the war until the signing of the armistice. He is a distinguished lawyer, has been Corporation Counsel for Philadelphia and a member of the Public Service Commission of Pennsylvania, the equivalent of a high judicial position. He is head of a Philadelphia bank. He took a leading part

in organising and directing the Philadelphia convention. Mr. Ryan (if he is present) is always chairman of the committee on resolutions where large numbers of people have to formulate their collective opinions.

All three members of the Commission had sons in the American uniform during the war.

IV.

The American government facilitated the departure of the Commission for Paris. On landing at Havre the members were welcomed in the name of the French Government. On arrival at Paris they placed their services at the disposition of Mr. J. T. O'Kelly and Mr. George Gavan Duffy, in charge of Irish interests here.

Mr. Walsh was received by President Wilson, with whom he had a conversation lasting an hour. Later, the members of the Commission were in touch with Colonel House, a member of the American Peace Delegation and, as is well known, the man who for years past has been favoured with the particular confidence of the President where matters requiring soundness of judgment and sureness of touch were under advisement. My information is, and I believe it to be correct, that Mr. Walsh and his colleagues requested the American Peace delegation to arrange with the other parties to the Peace Conference for an invitation to Mr. de Valera, Mr. Griffith and Count Plunkett, the designees of the Dáil Eireann, to come to Paris to be heard on behalf of Ireland, and to provide them with safe-conducts; that the American delegation assented to the request and undertook to bring it before Mr. Lloyd George; that the British Prime Minister assented, and asked for a conference with the Irish-American delegation; that when pressure upon the Prime Minister's time was given as a reason for deferring the appointment, Mr. Walsh expressed a desire to visit Ireland, whither the delegation had been invited by Mr.

de Valera; that the American and British embassies joined in facilitating the project, Mr. Walsh and his friends departing on a day's delay, with the single request from Mr. Lloyd George that they see as much as possible of all parts of Ireland, not overlooking Belfast. At this time of writing they are in Ireland, and are expected back in Paris before May 15.

v.

In estimating the importance of this appearance of an Irish-American Commission in Paris and in Ireland, especially with reference to the reaction in case their mission ends in disappointment, I think it would be well to adhere as closely as possible to particulars, and not to generalize too readily about that more or less uncertain entity so familiarly referred to by over zealous friends and over contemptuous enemies of Ireland as the Irish-American vote. Every Irish-American of voting age has an Irish-American vote, and the use made of it is apt to be decided by himself. For good and sufficient reasons, mainly connected with the hostile reception accorded poor emigrants in times past by elements not identified with the Democratic Party, that Democratic Party's organisation in many cities is based upon Irish-American support. Now and again, however, as with Mr. Roosevelt for instance, the possession of certain militant qualities in a public man of the other party is found to make strong appeal to Americans of Irish origin, especially in their first voting period. Still, in places like New York and Boston, in a very large sense Irish-Americans *are* the Democratic Party, and cannot be driven, even by the cold glances of their national leaders, into the opposing fold. This ensures to them the exercise of power within the Democratic Party. Early in March the National Committee of the Party, then in session, politely reminded Mr. Wilson that if the Party was at all concerned about

winning the election in 1920 the application of the Wilson doctrines to the case of Ireland was a subject for immediate consideration. Six members of the Senate of the United States, of Mr. Wilson's party, have sent him a message which may envisage matters nearer even than the election. At the same time it is very plain that some of the Republican leaders, notably Senator Borah, are exploiting the delays in regard to Ireland in the, to them, useful enterprise of detaching Irish sympathy from Mr. Wilson.

There is another aspect of the case that is worthy of mention. Over here in Europe there seems to be no ready answer to the frequent English comment: "Oh, but Irish freedom is inconsistent with the safety of the Empire." Therefore, perish Irish freedom. In the United States the view point is different. "The Irish have a right to freedom, to the ordering of their own national life? Certainly. What's wrong with that proposition? It is what we have been taught for a hundred and fifty years is the very heart and essence of American existence. If anybody challenges that conception, then we are for Ireland." That is the normal attitude of the average American—if you can get his attention. Those born in America of Irish parents have precisely the same view point on this subject as Americans of other origin. "An Irish republic?" they will say; "that is something we understand." They do not understand, or approve, either of them, anything less; but that they both do approve, very much. And this I take to be a much more potent factor in the present circumstances than the familiar bogey of a solid Irish American vote, which is non-existent. It is wise policy on the part of those who are opposed to Irish self-government to insist upon their claim that Irish grievances are England's domestic affair. America does not care much about England's domestic affairs. Ireland with an international status, and on the American model, is something vastly more interesting to

all Americans. I think it is quite as interesting as Poland. I rather think that, in foreseeable circumstances, it may be even more interesting than France.

Contemplating the prospect for the near future, we can see certain demands being made upon the American people for the benefit of others. Freedom and security for Poland and Bohemia, under the League of Nations; security for France and for all the enterprises in Imperialism in which she is now embarking, under the League of Nations and under a special military guarantee from the United States; financial support for England and for France from the United States; possible underwriting by American finance of German guarantees, so that England and France may have money needed to go on with. Now, whether it is to Article Ten of the League, or to a special military alliance, or to an underwriting of the German fine, it seems to me there might be objections raised in America, and I do not think it is vain to imagine a non-Irish American platform orator asking why Poland must be kept free and Ireland must be kept bound; why Americans must be bound by treaty to fight for France and bound by Article Ten to fight against Ireland if anyone should recklessly come to that island's aid; why America should join the other nations in denying Ireland her freedom, and then supply England with the money needed to keep in Ireland an army big enough to dragoon the Irish into submission. It may be that I misjudge, and it may be that skilled manipulators of the daily press and of other agencies will again succeed in getting so strong a current of prejudice against Ireland under way as to offset all these considerations. Delays, again, seem always to work against Ireland, and in the Peace Conference company there are some who have shown great skill in arranging delays advantageous to themselves. Therefore, perhaps the most that can be said is that the American Peace Delegation, led by President Wilson, appear to be sufficiently concerned about

one set of political possibilities from which the Democratic Party, also led by President Wilson, might suffer, to be ready to show themselves well disposed towards Ireland. Whether they think the occasion calls for making full use of the leverage they can control is what remains to be seen. On that subject there are not as yet the materials for forming a firm opinion.

VI.

I was reading, the other day, of that moment in the back-wash of revolution in 1848, when Lamartine besought his people to think more about France and less about Germany, Italy, Ireland and Poland. It came to me that the new map of Europe has been drawn in terms of nationality. There are no Continental Empires left, no subject peoples. Every state is a nationality, every nationality has been erected into a state. From the Dniester to the English Channel there is no exception to the rule, Ireland's case, which antedates all the others, is alone excluded from the reckoning. Does the exception prove the rule, or will the rule preclude the exception? As Mr. Wilson has both formulated the rule and applied it, I suppose he must expect to be asked this question.

J. C. Walsh.

Paris, May 6, 1919.

THE SOURCES OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

BY PROFESSOR ALFRED RAHILLY, M.A.

"THERE was no completely effective method," writes the late Dr. Neville Figgis,[1] "of meeting the papal claim to political supremacy save by a theory of absolute non-resistance and divine right." This apparently implies that the English *people* could not be trusted to abjure Catholicism and withstand the popes' international authority; the work had to be done for them by their betters. If this is the argument, it is by no means devoid of force. Sometimes it was put quite bluntly. Thus Stillingfleet in the preface to his *Unreasonableness of Separation* (1680-1) argues that a general toleration would enable Catholics to destroy the Church of England. "We ought to carry it so towards them" [Catholics], says Burnet,[2] "that it may appear we do not hate their persons, and do nothing against them but as we are compelled to do it for self-preservation." Dr. Figgis himself can at times be indiscreetly explicit. "If the doctrine was needful to effect the Reformation," he declares,[3] "it did good service." And there, presumably, is the end of it. It helped to beat the Pope, and whether it is a public doctrine or a secret treaty, what more can an Englishman ask for, especially from a Cambridge Fellow?

The theory of autocracy by divine right certainly "did good service" in effecting that Reformation which

[1] *The Divine Right of Kings*, Cambridge, 1914², p. 72.

[2] *Exhortation to Peace and Unity*, 1681, p. 31.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

a pious myth represents as the source of modern democracy. It is authoritatively inculcated in "The Institution of a Christian Man," drawn up by a commission of bishops and published by the king's authority in 1540.[1] It is repeated in detail in the "Exhortation to Obedience" of 1547, and especially in the "Homily against Disobedience and wilful Rebellion," which was enlarged in 1573 under Elizabeth.[2] These official declarations were not allowed to remain dead letters; good care was taken that the clergy should propagate this anti-democratic doctrine. In the King's Injunctions of 1536, incumbents were instructed to preach regularly "that the Bishop of Rome's usurped power had no ground in the law of God and therefore was on good reasons abolished in this kingdom, *and* that the king's power was by the laws of God supreme over all persons in his dominions."[3] The same avowed and explicit conjunction of rejection of the papacy and adoption of regal tyranny, so disconcerting to modern harmonisers of Reformation and democracy, reappears in the next reign. Archbishop Cranmer's articles of inquiry in his diocesan visitation of Canterbury were: "(1) Whether they have preached against the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome? (2) Whether they have preached and declared at the least four times a year that the king's majesty, power, authority and pre-eminence within his realms and dominions is the highest power under God?"[4] By order of King James the Archbishops

[1] On fifth commandment: "Subjects be bound not to withdraw their fealty, truth, love and obedience towards their prince *for any cause whatsoever it be*."

[2] "What a perilous thing were it to commit unto the subjects the judgment which prince is wise and godly and his government good and which is otherwise! . . . A rebel is worse than the worst prince and rebellion worse than the worst government of the worst prince that hitherto hath been."—*Sermons or Homilies appointed to be read in Churches in the time of Queen Elizabeth*, London, 1839, pp. 609*f*.

[3] Burnet, History of the Reformation, bk. 3 (ed. 1816, i. 409*f*). Compare the king's answer to the Lincolnshire insurgents in the same year (*ibid.*, i. 413): "It was never before heard of that the rabble presumed to dictate to their prince what counsellors he should choose."

[4] [Seller], *The History of Passive Obedience since the Reformation*, Amsterdam, 1689, pp. 5*f*.

of Canterbury and York issued directions for preaching in 1622. "No preacher," they declared, "shall presume in any auditory within this kingdom to declare, limit or bound out, by way of positive doctrine in any lecture or sermon, the power, prerogative, jurisdiction, authority or duty of sovereign princes," except as laid down in the Homily on Obedience.[1] Once more the "Constitutions and Canons for the Church of England" (30 June, 1640) ordered the clergy at least four times a year to preach that "the most sacred order of kings is of divine right," and therefore any project of setting up, "under any pretence whatsoever, any independent coactive power, *either papal or popular*, whether directly or indirectly, . . . is treasonable against God as well as against the king."[2] Such was the political teaching authorised and propagated by the English Church—until it was found inconvenient to apply ideas of divine right to the Catholic James II. It may be doubted if in the annals of any religious sect or church there exists a more consistent record of political servility, culminating in such an inconsistently precipitate abandonment of a principle which had ceased to be lucrative.[3]

Especially in view of recent attempts to rewrite the political theories of the Reformation, it is interesting to notice that the upholding of despotism was by no means confined to the pulpit; it was equally characteristic of the professorial chairs of Oxford and Cambridge.[4] King James I. was extremely solicitous lest a breath of Catholic

[1] Prothero, *Statutes*, p. 423; Rushworth, i. 64 f.

[2] Laud, *Works* (Oxford, 1853), v. 613 f.

[3] *Cf.* Bishop William King's amusing attempt to reconcile the "Revolution" with passive obedience, in his *State of the Protestants of Ireland under the late King James's Government*, 1691. The old doctrine still survived, perhaps survives at least for the benefit of Irish Papists. Thus Berkeley in 1712: "Men will be still apt to demand . . . in case the oppression be insupportable and the prospect of deliverance sure, whether rebellion may not be allowed of? I answer, by no means."—*Works*, ed. Fraser, iii. 134 f.

[4] It is not usually considered necessary to mention that Alberico Gentili, professor of civil law at Oxford, who is currently given the place of Suarez in founding international law, was a strong supporter of regal despotism in his *Regales disputationes tres*, 1605.

democracy should disturb the students. They "should apply themselves," he wrote in April, 1622,[1] "in the first place to the reading of the scriptures, next the councils and ancient fathers, and then the schoolmen—excluding those neoterics, both Jesuits and Puritans, who are known to be meddlers in matters of state and monarchy." A few months later Oxford Convocation decided[2] that everyone before taking his degree should take an oath to uphold the doctrine of divine right and passive obedience. This tradition was well maintained. For in 1681 we find the University of Cambridge thus addressing Charles II.[3]:

> We still believe and maintain that our kings derive not their title from the people but from God, that to Him only they are accountable, that it belongs not to the subject either to create or censure but to honour and obey their sovereign, who comes to be so by a fundamental hereditary right of succession which no religion, no law, no fault or forfeiture can alter or diminish.

This was only seven years before the "Revolution" of 1688! Two years later (July, 1683) the sister University passed a comprehensive decree "against certain pernicious books and damnable doctrines destructive to the sacred persons of princes."[4] The pernicious books were those of Bellarmine, Persons, Buchanan, Milton, Rutherford, etc. The damnable doctrines included such theses as, "All civil authority is derived originally from the people," and "There is a mutual compact, tacit or express, between a prince and his subjects." Clearly, these learned institutions did not anticipate the historical reconstructions to be issued by their present-day presses!

If it be allowable to retain one's sense of humour while reading history, we may be permitted to smile at England's attempt to reconcile divine despotism at home with a carefully calculated support of "rebels" in the Netherlands. Then, as since, England was interested in the development of small nationalities; and Holland received assistance—

[1] Wood, *Hist. and Antiq. Univ. Oxford*, ed. Gutch, ii. 343.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 341-347.
[3] Seller, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
[4] Somers, *Tracts*, viii., 420-424.

until her maritime development became a danger. In the Dutch Declaration of Independence (26 July, 1581) it was proclaimed that "God did not create the people slaves to their prince to obey his commands whether right or wrong, but rather the prince for the sake of the subjects.[1]" This and similar utterances were a little too strong for Elizabeth's susceptibilities, so in 1585 she published "A Declaration of the Causes moving the Queen of England to give aid to the Defence of the People afflicted and oppressed in the Low Countries." "Kings and princes sovereign," she declared, "owing their homage and service only unto Almighty God, the King of all kings, are in that respect not bound to yield account or render the reasons of their actions to any others but to God, their only sovereign Lord." After thus proclaiming the basic political doctrine of the Church of which she was Head, the queen proceeded to complain that the King of Spain had begun "to appoint Spaniards, foreigners and strangers of strange blood—men more exercised in wars than in peaceable government and some of them notably delighted in blood as hath appeared by their actions—to be the chiefest governors of all his said Low Countries contrary to the ancient laws and customs thereof.[2]" These considerations, which, needless to say, could not be retorted by Philip and applied to Ireland, showed that the Dutch struggle was neither a Spanish domestic question nor a violation of the doctrine of passive resistance. Nevertheless, as the proceedings in Flanders might prove infectious and, as Cardinal Allen pointed out,[3] rather weakened the Elizabethan case

[1] Somers, *Tracts*, i., 323 (Elizabethan translation).

[2] Somers, *Tracts*, i., 410, 412. She also points out *more anglico* a less æthereal reason, namely, "our own danger at hand, by the overthrow and destruction of our neighbours and access and planting of the great forces of the Spaniards so near to our countries" (p. 417). She also remarks that, when sending an expeditionary force, Brill, Flushing and the castle of Rammekins were delivered into her hands as cautionary securities for reimbursement. Crusading should not be unpractical!

[3] *Defence of English Catholics* (1584), Catholic Library edition, 1914, i., 101.

against Catholics, Bishop Thomas Bilson was instructed to write on "The True Difference between Christian Subjection and unchristian Rebellion.[1]" The difference, however, proved so subtle that Bilson's work was partly reprinted by the Puritans in 1641.[2] "That book, which served Queen Elizabeth's worldly designs," remarked the Benedictine convert Cressy,[3] "by the just judgment of God, hath contributed much to the ruin of her successor, King Charles. For there is not any book that the Presbyterians have made more dangerous use of against their present prince than that which his predecessor commanded to be written to justify her against the King of Spain." It is curious how the defence of distant oppressed nationalities is apt to breed disquieting results nearer home.

Elizabeth's successor had a similar experience. James I. summoned the clergy to reconcile recognition of Holland with maintenance of divine right. The task was too much even for court theologians; being unable to base Dutch independence on the will of the Dutch people, they had to base it on its bare *de facto* existence.[4] Which naturally aroused the wrath of James. "You have dipped too deep," he wrote,[5] "into what all kings reserve among the *arcana imperii*. . . . If the King of Spain should return to claim his old pontifical right to my kingdom, you leave me to seek for others to fight for it; for you tell us upon the matter beforehand, his authority is God's authority if he prevail." But it is hard to see what else the poor men could have said. Church of England political theory, not being yet as elastic as English political practice, was unable to cope with Holland until William of Orange disembarked at Torbay.

[1] Oxford, 1585; London, 1586. The gist of the matter is that rebellion is all right in Germany, Flanders, Scotland, France (p. 281), but not in England, where Elizabeth is an absolute ruler (p. 277).

[2] Somers, *Tracts*, iv., 29. [3] *Exomologesis*, i., 12, 6; 1653², p. 43.

[4] *Bishop Overall's Convocation Book of* 1606 (ed. Oxford, 1844), p. 50.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 7

If, then, English democratic ideas are not the product of the Church of England, whence did they come? The economic and religious struggle between King, Parliament and People was, of course, the immediate cause or occasion of much political theorising. But such theories could not possibly spring full-grown from the application of untutored thinking to the concrete political situation. The political pamphleteering and the constitution-making of seventeenth century England were done not by men in the "state of nature" without traditions or culture, but chiefly by lawyers, clergymen, graduates and educated officers. The fact that the opponents of Charles I. were mostly dissenters is surely not without significance. The independent churches, ostensibly based on Scripture and warranted divine, were really the outcome of genuine political thought; they were essentially efforts to establish moral corporateness and social order among men who in large departments of their lives rejected the machinery of the State. The disputes concerning church membership and covenants, parish consistories or synods, the presbyterian *versus* the congregational principle, brethren or elders; all these discussions were carried on with the help of political ideas and social categories which not only were a legacy from the past but began to find immediate contemporary applications in secular life. It would hardly be seriously maintained nowadays that the various anti-prelatical sects had their origin in a verse or two of the Acts of the Apostles. They all, indeed, more or less voiced a protest against the secularisation of religion; and the Independents in particular adopted the Catholic view that the state or sovereign had no spiritual jurisdiction.[1] It is also significant that Norwich, the cradle of

[1] Thus two recusants who were hanged in 1583 "acknowledged her Majesty chief ruler civilly and no further," and Henry Barrowe in 1587 refused to take the oath of supremacy, but affirmed his readiness "to give and perform as much unto his prince as any true subject ought to do."—Dexter, *The Congregationalism of the last 300 Years as seen in its Literature*, 1880, pp. 210, 215 f. Lilburne, in his *Letter to Wm. Prynne*, 7 Jan., 1645-6 (p. 5), says of Henry VIII.: "Though he jousted out the pope, he set himself in the throne of Christ, and his successors have done the same."

congregationalism, was famous for its gilds; the Gild of St. George, founded in 1385, as well as numerous trade companies, long survived the Reformation.[1] Now, apart from the civic training afforded by the aristocratic-presbyterian or the democratic-congregational church-polity, the essential contribution of Puritanism to political theory was the idea of mutual covenant as constituting membership of a particular society.[2] This was precisely the idea which was not only embodied in religious orders,[3] but popularised in a mercantile nation like England by the numerous gilds and chartered companies. Thus the Merchant Adventurers were empowered by their first charter (5 Feb., 1406-7) to "elect among themselves certain sufficient and fit persons for their governors," and "by the common consent . . . to make and establish statutes, ordinances and customs . . . for the better government of the state of the said merchants.[4]" In a later charter[5] they were incorporated into "one perpetual fellowship and commonalty and body politic and corporate in name and in deed." From these ordinances and charters it is surely not such a far cry to the Mayflower Covenant of 1620 whereby the pilgrim fathers "covenanted and combined themselves together into a civil body politic

[1] *Cf.* the ordinances "by common assent" of the Gild of St. George—Toulmin Smith, *English Gilds*, p. 17. R. Browne's account of the formation of his church at Norwich is given in his *True and Short Declaration*, 1584, p. 19 (Dexter, *op. cit.*, p. 105): "They gave their consent to join themselves to the Lord in one covenant and fellowship together, and to keep and seek agreement under His laws and government."

[2] *Cf.* Roman collegium and societas (consensu plurium societas contracta—*Inst.*, iii., 25, 5). All the schoolmen discussed in detail the "contractus societatis." It is hardly credible that these prolonged and widespread discussions had no influence on the later theory of "social contract."

[3] Thus the Dominican Constitutions of 1228 (i., 14): Postulants were to be examined before the Chapter and asked if they were willing to renounce the world and to observe the rules, "tunc depositis vestibus saecularibus et religiosis indutis, in nostram societatem in capitulo recipiantur."

[4] Rymer, *Foedera*, viii., 464; Sir C. P. Lucas, *The Beginnings of English Overseas Enterprise*, 1917, pp. 184-7.

[5] Elizabeth, 18 July, 1564; Cawston & Keane, *The Early Chartered Companies*, 1896, pp. 254 ff.

for their better ordering and preservation.[1]" Nor is there any discontinuous transition to the Charter of Providence Plantations, secured by Roger Williams in 1643, which granted the colonists "full power and authority to rule themselves . . . by such a form of civil government as by voluntary consent of all or the greater part of them they shall find most suitable to their estate and condition."[2] The American colonists, merchant as well as religious adventurers, merely set up farther afield in untrodden soil those little commonwealths[3] and bodies politic which had long existed in Calais and Antwerp and Bruges. Religious gilds working through nonconformist churches, and merchant gilds transformed into trading companies[4] and chartered plantations, combined to produce the United States of America, whose independence was ultimately won not by political theories[5] but largely by the prowess of those who were driven into exile by puritan persecution and chartered plantations in Ireland.

It remains now to show that Catholic influences on nascent English democracy comprised not merely the legacy of medieval laws and gilds but also the provision

[1] Macdonald, *Select Charters and other Documents illustrative of American History*, 1606-1775, (1899), p. 33. This covenant has been greatly exaggerated. There was no suggestion of political independence on the part of these "loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King James." They had received a grant from the Company of Southern Virginia, but were driven by stress of weather to another part of the coast and so had to form a company of their own—"merely a makeshift to meet a temporary emergency"—Johnston, *Connecticut*, 1887, p. 63.

[2] Macdonald, p. 93.

[3] *Cf.* "the commonwealth of the whole body of that our staple," in a letter of Henry VII. (1499).—Schanz, *Englische Handelspolitik*, 1881, ii., 200.

[4] The prevalence of mercantile metaphors in the political discussions of seventeenth century England is worth noticing. For instance, the Declaration of the Army to Parliament, 14 June, 1647 (Rushworth, vi., 564-570): "We shall hereby for our part freely and cheerfully commit our stock or share of interest in this kingdom into this common bottom of parliaments; and though it may for our particulars go ill with us in the voyage, yet we shall thus hope, if right be with us, to fare better." *Cf.* "We are your principals and you are our agents"—cited in STUDIES, Dec., 1918, p. 571.

[5] Even the pilgrim fathers professed the doctrine of non-resistance. "In all things obedience is due to him" [the king], wrote John Robinson and W. Brewster in 1617, "either active if the thing commanded be not against God's word, or passive if it be, except pardon can be obtained."—*Old South Leaflets*, No. 142, p. 4.

of an extensive literature which was continuously utilised and sometimes even acknowledged. Thus the writings of the much-refuted Father Robert Persons, S.J., served for nearly two centuries to supply in English a clear presentation of democracy. His *Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England*,[1] first published in 1594, contains what is practically the first defence of the rights of the people written in the English language. Like every other historical expression of democracy, including the American Declaration of Independence, it was written for an immediate practical purpose, namely, to refute James's title to the succession and to fix it either on Essex or on the Infanta of Spain. But this it did by laying down the general principle that the claim of hereditary succession is merely a positive human law—a principle gratefully accepted by Protestant England ninety-four years later. The book abounds in clear statements, commonplace enough to us, but startling to the state-ridden Church of Elizabeth. "There can be no doubt," we read (p. 12), "that the commonwealth hath power to choose their own fashion of government, as also to change the same upon reasonable causes. . . . In like manner it is evident that as the commonwealth hath this authority to choose and change her government, so hath she also to limit the same with what laws and conditions she pleaseth." Again he declares (p. 73): "The power and authority which the prince hath from the commonwealth is in very truth . . . a power delegate or power by commission from the commonwealth, which is given with such restrictions, cautels and conditions . . . as if the same be not kept but wilfully broken on either part, then is the other not bound to observe his promise neither, though never so solemnly made or sworn." Which is certainly explicit and uncompromising. Persons

[1] Published under the pseudonym of R. Doleman. The authorship of Persons (though he may have been helped by Allen and others) is proved in Dodd-Tierney, *Church History of England*, iii., 31-35.

had, in fact, a profound contempt for "the abject and wicked flattery of such as affirm princes to be subject to no law or limitation at all, . . . as though the commonwealth had been made for them and not they for the commonwealth" (p. 35). Moreover, concerning the ultimate social bonds, the Jesuit, herein following the Schoolmen, had far more accurate ideas than Hobbes or Locke or Rousseau. "Albeit sociability or inclination to live together in company, man with man," he says (p. 3), "be of nature and consequently also of God that is author of nature," yet particular forms, limitations and arrangements of government "are not by law natural or divine . . . but they are ordained by particular positive laws of every country." Persons expounded similar views in several other works,[1] but the *Conference* is the most famous. It was especially to counteract "the principles laid down in that famous book of Parsons the Jesuit,[2]" that King James convened the Convocation of 1603-1610, to which allusion has already been made. The influence of this work, "from whence most of our modern enemies of the true rights of princes have borrowed both their arguments and authorities,"[3] can be gauged from the fact that it was partially reprinted in 1648, 1655 and 1681; and it had the honour of being burnt by the University of Oxford in 1683. "Having mentioned Hobbes," says the author just cited, one of the few non-jurors faithful to divine right in a Catholic king, "how am I ashamed to find that his authority and the reasons which he derived from Milton and both from Doleman, *i.e.*, Parsons the Jesuit, are of a sudden so generally received as if the doctrine

[1] Thus in *An Answer to the Fifth Part of the Reports lately set forth by Sir Edward Cooke*, 1606 (p. 26), he says: "The ordination of God by the law of nature doth give political power unto the multitude immediately and by them mediately to one or more." The kingly office "is not immediately from God's institution but by means of human laws, of succession, election or the like."—*The Judgment of a Catholic Englishman*, 1608, p. 121.

[2] Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, ii., 212, ed. 1734.

[3] [Abednego Seller], *A Continuation of the History of Passive Obedience since the Reformation*, Amst., 1690, p. 65.

were apostolical and ought to be preached to all the world: that power is originally in the body of the people, that the foundation of all government is laid in compact, and that the breach of conditions by one party dispenses with the duty of the other."[1] "The book itself," confesses a modern writer,[2] "has played no small part in our history, for not only was Milton's *Defensio* mainly taken from it, but it formed the chief part of Bradshaw's long speech at the condemnation of Charles I."

In the same year as Doleman's *Conference* was published there appeared the first four books of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, which is a striking tribute not only to the Catholic conception of the Church but to the Schoolmen's teaching on natural laws and civil government. "Hooker," says the late Prof. Ritchie,[3] "is the medium through whom the ethical and political philosophy of Thomas Aquinas finds its way into English popular thought." One has only to glance at the notes and index of Church and Paget's edition of Hooker's works to realise his indebtedness to the Scholastics. He cites Peter Lombard, Hales, Aquinas, Scotus, Bonaventure, Durandus, Nicholas of Cusa, Soto, Cajetan, Occam, Peter d'Ailly, and many more whose very names would nowadays sound outlandish to English divines. It is surprising to observe the speed with which Catholic works became known in Protestant England. Bellarmine's *Controversiae* were first published at Ingolstadt in three volumes, 1586-1589. Already in

[1] [Seller], *History of Passive Obedience*, Amst., 1689, preface.

[2] J. A. Farrer, *Books condemned to be Burnt*, 1892, p. 38. "Great efforts were made to suppress it, and there is a tradition that the printer was hanged, drawn and quartered."

[3] *Natural Rights*, 1895, p. 39. *Cf.* Seller (*History*, 1689, p. 29): "He lays the foundation of government in agreement, he herein following the Schoolmen too strictly." It is difficult to criticise politely the following exhibition of intolerant ignorance: "Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* is one of the few really great books in the world's literature. It contains either explicitly or in germ all the leading ideas of the 18th century. . . . He establishes his points by argument, by the use of reason. That signifies a rupture with scholasticism. It means that for the first time the principle upon which modern learning rests is used fearlessly."—Scherger, *Evolution of Modern Liberty*, 1904, p. 41. Modern learning!

1593 Saravia in his *De imperandi auctoritate* (iii., 30 ff.) undertook an elaborate refutation of Bellarmine's advocacy of democracy, and Hooker also cites the Cardinal in his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, 1594. A pamphlet of 1605, entitled "An exact Discovery of Romish Doctrine in the case of Conspiracy and Rebellion," cites Bellarmine as well as Toletus, Molina, Bannez, Gregory of Valentia; and to Persons it attributes the monstrous error that "the commonwealth hath authority to choose a king and to limit him by laws at their pleasure." Next year, Matthew Sutcliffe's "Abridgement or Survey of Popery" quotes Navarrus, Sa as well as Persons, Bellarmine, and Ligueurs like Rossaeus. Two years later, in 1608, James I., with the help of Casaubon and du Moulin, started his controversy with Bellarmine; and in 1613 the royal disputant was able to burn the *Defensio* of Suarez a few months after it was issued. There was little doubt in the England of those days that democracy was a popish offspring, certainly not "the child of the Reformation."

With the advent of Puritanism the Catholic sources of democratic principles become even plainer, for its opponents were readier than its defenders to disclose the secrets of the Puritan armoury. Thus David Owen's *Herod and Pilate Reconciled, or the Concord of Papist and Puritan* (Cambridge, 1610), makes some effective hits. It is from the conciliar writers, such as Marsiglio, John of Paris and Almain, he says, that "the Puritans have learned their error of the power of statesmen over kings" (p. 45). "This Puritan position, which authoriseth nobles and assemblies of states against wicked kings, is," he concludes (p. 54), "the very assertion of the most seditious Jesuits that have lived in our age." This accusation received royal confirmation in *A Large Declaration concerning the late Tumults in Scotland*, issued by King Charles I. in 1639. Therein (p. 3) it is said of the Presbyterians that "their maxims are the same with the Jesuits', their preachers' sermons have been delivered in the very

phrase and style of Becanus, Scioppius and Eudaemon Johannes, their poor arguments, which they have delivered in their seditious pamphlets printed or written, are taken almost verbatim out of Bellarmine and Suarez, etc." We are told (p. 253) that the General Assembly, held in Glasgow in spite of the king on 21 Nov., 1638, declared "that all authority is originally in the collective body, derived from thence to the prince, and that not only in case of negligence it is *suppletive* in the collective body . . . but also in case of maladministration, to return to the collective body, so that *rex excidit jure suo* and that they may refuse obedience.[1]" The very expressions plainly indicate the sources of these ideas. This genealogy is further enforced by John Maxwell, the Scottish Archbishop of Tuam, in his *Sacro-Sancta Regum Majestas*, published in 1644. "I aver confidently," he says (1686[2], pp. 18, 25), "that those and the like tenets were never taught nor believed by the sound protestants of the reformed churches, but our sectaries learned them of their Boucher, Rossaeus, Hotman, Mariana and others. . . . Those tenets came not into the world with Luther and Calvin, but were long before there was any word of a reformer." The same year (1644) Samuel Rutherford in his *Lex Rex, or the Law and the Prince* made a savage reply to Maxwell. It was a good defence of democracy but a very weak answer to the taunt of plagiarism. This, apart from irrelevant abuse, is all that he could say:[2] "This doctrine was taught by lawyers, protestants, yielded to by papists, before any Jesuit was whelped *in rerum natura*. Never learned man wrote of policy, till of late, but he held power of government, by the light of nature,

[1] *Cf.* Paul Fabulotti (Barnabite), *De potestate papae supra concilium* (Venice, 1613, fol. 3*a*): In populo est auctoritas principis saecularis *suppletive*, quia supplere potest officium principis electi, et, deficiente principe facere potest quicquid necessarium est ad conservationem regni vel reipublicae et supplere vices principis.

[2] *Lex Rex*, q. 41 (Edinburgh, 1843), pp. 206 f. *Cf.* Algernon Sidney, *Discourses*, ii., 2 (Works, London, 1772, p. 68): "I am not concerned in making good what Suarez says. A Jesuit may speak that which is true. But it ought to be received as from the devil, cautiously, lest mischief be hid under it." Still, it was received!

must be radically and originally in a community." Democracy, it appears, was a pre-reformation commonplace! Now this work of Rutherford's was widely read and extremely influential. Bishop Guthry of Dunkeld records that at the General Assembly held in Edinburgh in January, 1645, "everyone had in his hand that book lately published by Mr. Samuel Rutherford entitled *Lex Rex*."[1] "It is in the works of Rutherford," declares Mr. Gooch,[2] "that we find the fullest exposition of the political ideas of the northern Presbyterians." This being so, it is worth while pointing out that these ideas are entirely borrowed from Catholic sources.[3] Two typical quotations will make this plain :—

Covarruvias, Soto and Suarez have rightly said that power of government is immediately from God, and this or that definite power is mediately from God, proceeding from God by the mediation of the consent of a community. (q. 2, page 3 *b*, ed. 1843).

The question now is—If all power of governing . . . be so in the people that they retain power to guard themselves against tyranny, and if they retain some of it *habitu*, in habit and in their power? (q. 9, p. 34*a*).[4]

Further citation is indeed unnecessary; for every page of Rutherford, when it is not filled with personal invectives, is crammed with the Schoolmen's theses, often with their very phrases and often too, to the author's credit be it said, with explicit references.[5]

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[1] *Memoirs* (2nd ed.), p. 177.

[2] *Political Thought in England from Bacon to Halifax*, 1914, p. 134.

[3] With a few misinterpretations, *e.g.*, of Bellarmine and Suarez, pp. 4, 53, 208.

[4] Compare Almain, *De auctoritate ecclesiae*, c. 1 (Gerson, *Opera*, ed. 1706, ii., 977): Quamvis populi consensu ius omne et potestas translata sit in regem, tamen respublica semper *habitu* retinet potestatem. Also Navarro, *Relectio cap. Novit de iudic.*, notab. 3, n. 119 (*Opera*, Venice, 1602, iv., 120): Non obstat quod multi populi videntur carere omnino iurisdictione, quia non carent omnino iurisdictione sed eius usu, habent enim illam saltem *in habitu* licet careant actu. This was also maintained by Bellarmine and Suarez (see STUDIES, March, 1918, p. 17) and accepted even by Hooker, *Eccles. Polity*, viii., 2, 10 (*Works*, iii., 350).

[5] The pamphlet entitled *Epistle congratulatory of Lysimachus Nicanor of the Society of Jesus to the Covenanters in Scotland*, January, 1640-41 (reprinted 1684) shows the dependence of the Covenanters on the Jesuit writers. It is usually attributed to Henry Leslie, Bishop of Down and Connor, but the more probable author is John Corbet, minister of Bonyl.

If we turn to the English Puritans we find the same result. William Prynne's *Sovereign Power of Parliament* (1643) exercised immense influence.[1] Here, too, we see that the sources are "divines, lawyers, canonists and schoolmen, as Gratian, Bannez, Soto, Lessius, Vasquius, Covarruvias, Aquinas, Sylvester, Bartolus, Baldus, Navarre, Albericus Gentilis, Grotius, and others.[2]" Prynne, then, in spite of his anti-popery, laid himself open to a crushing retort :—

> The question Mr. Prynne doth dispute through all his books is plain and palpable popery, Whether it be lawful for subjects to make war against their king ? The papists teach they may. The Church of England doth and ever did teach they may not. Here Mr. Prynne doth side with the papists and doth make use both of their authority and arguments.[3]

Nowhere is this "popery" so plain and palpable as in the evolution of the parliamentary position from the invocation of constitutional technicalities to the assertion of natural rights. Already in 1642 Henry Parker declared, in words which bear the imprint of their Scholastic origin, that :—

> Power is originally inherent in the people. . . . And when by such or such a law of common consent and agreement it is derived into such and such hands, God confirms that law. . . . And from hence

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[1] See Baxter's *Life*, p. 41. Richard Baxter himself (1615-1691) is a notable example of a delver in Scholasticism. "I would not dissuade my reader," he says, "from the perusal of Aquinas, Scotus, Ockham, Ariminensis, Durandus or any such writer, for much good may be gotten from them." *Cf.* Jayne, *Excerpt from Reliquiae Baxteriane*, 1910, pp. 13, 127.

[2] *Sov. Power*, 82. *Cf.* Prynne's *Treachery and Disloyalty of Papists*, 1642-3, p. 3 : "Parliaments, prelates, peers and commons in times of popery have both claimed and exercised far greater authority over our kings and their prerogatives than this or any other protestant parliament hath done."

[3] *The Fallacies of Mr. W. Prynne Discovered and Confuted*, Oxford, 1644, p. 16. (*Cf.* the *Discourse concerning the Puritans*, 1641, p. 43 [by Henry Parker or John Ley ?] : "There are not three men in all the king's dominions, except papists and anabaptists, who hold it lawful to depose or by any force to violate the person of kings how ill soever they act." Of course, the actual execution of Charles is not thereby justified—*cf.* STUDIES, Dec., 1918, p. 578.

the inference is just, the king though he be *singulis major* yet he is *universis minor*; for if the people be the true efficient cause of power, it is a rule in nature, *quicquid efficit tale est magis tale.*[1]

From this time forward the advocates of democracy make constant appeal to fundamental political principles and natural rights. It would be easy, did space permit, to show how diligently these nonconformist democrats studied Catholic theology and jurisprudence. The few examples already given must suffice, and to them may be added the testimony of Selden's *Table Talk.* "The Jesuits and the lawyers of France and the Low-Countrymen," he says, "have engrossed all learning; the rest of the world make nothing but homilies." "Without School Divinity," he thinks, "a divine knows nothing logically nor will be able to satisfy a rational man out of the pulpit." Lastly, he makes this significant observation: "These Puritan preachers, if they have anything good, they have it out of popish books, *though they will not acknowledge it for fear of displeasing the people.*[2]" A species of fear which is still rather prevalent.[3]

[1] *Observations upon some of his Majesty's late Answers and Expresses*, 2 July, 1642, pp. 1-2. This idea is common not only in Ligueurs but in Scholastics. De Dominis admits, *De rep. ecclesiastica*, vi., 2, 9 (ii., 522, 1620): Scholastici plures asserunt regem non esse suo regno congregato superiorem. *Cf.* Almain, *De suprema potestate*, q. 1, c. 16 (Goldast, i., 623): Concilium politicum est supra regem et ipsum iudicare et deponere potest pro inidoneitate et certa culpa. On the principle "quod efficit tale est magis tale" adopted by Parker from the Ligueurs Rossaeus and Boucher (and also in the *Vindiciae contra tyrannos*), see Maxwell, *Sacro-Sancta Regum Majestas*, ch. 13, p. 200, 1686[2].

[2] *Table Talk*, s. vv., Learning, Minister, Books (pp. 158, 168, 100, Routledge's New Universal Library). Thus "Milton seems to have had an exalted idea of himself and his doings," and scorned citations and referenee.—A. Horwood, *Milton's Commonplace Book*, (Camden Society), 1877[2], p. xi.

[3] Owing to the researches of Gierke (*Johannes Althusius und die Entwicklung der naturrechtlichen Staatstheorien*, 1880, 1902[2]) the *Politica methodice digesta* (1603) of John Althaus (1557-1638) has come to be regarded as one of the source-books of modern democracy. But there is no evidence that the book exerted any great influence. In any case it is based very largely on the Scholastics to whom he constantly refers. Althusius, like Rutherford, is greatly indebted to the great Spanish Canonist, Diego Covarruvias (1512-1577). For example, Althusius has been lauded for denying absolute rule, for placing authority in the people, for making this authority fundamentally inalienable. In every one of these tenets he is merely transcribing the Catholic canonist, and moreover he refers each time to the exact passage in Covarruvias.

Perhaps the most interesting and complete admission of the Catholic origin of English democracy occurs in the *Patriarcha* of Sir Robert Filmer (†1653), which was posthumously published in 1680. According to this veteran royalist, democracy "was first hatched in the schools." These are his words :—

> Since the time that school divinity began to flourish there hath been a common opinion maintained, as well by divines as by divers other learned men, which affirms : "Mankind is naturally endowed and born with freedom from all subjection and at liberty to choose what form of government it please" ; and that "the power which any one man hath over others was at first bestowed according to the discretion of the multitude."
>
> This tenet was first hatched in the schools and hath been fostered by all succeeding papists for good divinity. The divines also of the reformed churches have entertained it ; and the common people everywhere tenderly embrace it. . . . Upon the ground of this doctrine both Jesuits and some other zealous favourers of the Geneva discipline have built a perilous conclusion—which is, that the people or multitude have power to punish or deprive the prince if he transgresses the laws of the kingdom. Witness Parsons and Buchanan. . . . Cardinal Bellarmine and Calvin both look asquint this way.[1]

The following quotation from Bellarmine is for many reasons significant :—

> I will lay down some passages of Cardinal Bellarmine that may best unfold the state of this controversy :—
>
> > "Secular or civil power (saith he) is instituted by men ; it is in the people unless they bestow it on a prince. This power is immediately in the whole multitude as in the subject of it. For this power is in the divine law, but the divine law hath given this power to no particular man ; if the positive law be taken away, there is left no reason why amongst a multitude (who are equal) one rather than another should bear rule over the rest. Power is given by the multitude to one man or to more by the same law of nature ; for the common-

[1] *Patriarcha*, i., 1. The work is included in Morley's edition (1884) of Locke's "Two Treatises on Civil Government," and the passage occurs on pp. 11 f. *Cf.* ii., 5 (p. 28) : "the opinion of Bellarmine and Suarez and all those who place supreme power in the whole people."

> wealth cannot exercise this power, therefore it is bound to bestow it upon some one man or some few. It depends upon the consent of the multitude to ordain over themselves a king or consul or other magistrates. And if there be a lawful cause, the multitude may change the kingdom into an aristocracy or democracy."

Thus far Bellarmine; in which passages are [*sic*] comprised the strength of all that ever I have read or heard produced for the natural liberty on the subject.[3]

This is certainly high praise from an opponent who had read the Puritan declarations and pamphlets but preferred to go to their source. There is an added interest in these quotations from "school divinity" and Bellarmine, for it has been suggested that these very citations influenced Mason in writing the Virginia Bill of Rights and Jefferson in drafting the Declaration of Independence.[2] Filmer's *Patriarcha* was certainly well known—Jefferson's own copy still exists in the Library of Congress—and moreover it acquired a fly-in-amber celebrity by its refutation at the hands of Sidney and Locke. There is no doubt that in the concise quotation from Bellarmine "is comprised the strength of all that" Jefferson or Mason could "have read or heard produced for the natural liberty of the subject." As such it may have influenced them.

Just as in England, however, so also in America, the stream of Catholic democratic influence, which began by being a rivulet perceptible here and there by phrase or reference, ends by becoming a broad river of accepted commonplaces. In the first enunciations of church democracy we can easily detect the phraseology of the Schools. For instance, in the Cambridge Platform accepted by the Massachusetts churches in 1647, we read that "the power of privilege" is "in the brethren formally and immediately," whereas "the power of office

[1] *Ibid.*, i., 2, p. 14. The quotation is from Bellarmine's *De laicis*, c. 6, and the translation is Filmer's own.

[2] Gaillard Hunt, "Virginia Declaration of Rights and Cardinal Bellarmine," *Catholic Historical Review*, iii. (1917), 276-289.

is said to be in them in that they design the persons unto office who only are to act or to exercise this power" —words patently reminiscent of a certain school of Catholic political speculation.[1] We can find similar phrases in Thomas Hooker's *Survey of the Sum of Church Discipline* (1648),[2] such as his discussion "whether ecclesia catholica visibilis was to be attended as a totum universale or integrale." A later American congregational pamphlet, John Wise's *Vindication of the Government of New England Churches*, exerted considerable political influence. It was first published in 1717 and twice reprinted during the year 1772. In this Wise upholds the usual Catholic theses, such as that "the first human subject and original of civil power is the people," which he apparently learnt through Puffendorf, his "chief guide and spokesman." By the eighteenth century, both in England and in America, the Reformation tenet of divine right was completely exploded and the Catholic principles of democracy—with a few added inaccuracies such as Locke's utilitarianism and individualism—were quietly appropriated by the various secularist and protestant writers. Thus it is that men like James Otis, John Adams, George Mason, Thomas Jefferson learnt democracy not from Catholic sources but from second-hand intermediaries such as Grotius, Burlamaqui, Sidney, Harrington and Locke. Sometimes too, as in the case of their modern successors, this wholesale adoption of ideas and ideals which the Catholic Church upheld and handed down in spite of the Reformation attack on democracy, was combined with anti-Catholic prejudice and defamation.[3]

[1] Dexter, *op. cit.*, p. 439.

[2] Preface is reprinted in Old South Leaflets, No. 55. Johnston (*Connecticut*, p. 72) publishes a few notes of a sermon preached by Hooker at Hartford, 31 May, 1638, in which it is stated that "the foundation of authority is laid firstly in the free consent of the people." On the strength of this tenuous commonplace we are told that "the birthplace of American democracy is Hartford"!

[3] Thus John Adams's *Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law*, 1765 (reprinted in Gridley's *True Sentiments of America*, 1768, also in his *Works*, ed. C. F. Adams, 1856, vol. 3), contains a bitter, ignorant attack on Catholicism and on "the Romish clergy." The priesthood, we are told, "had deduced the most mischievous of all doctrines, that of passive obedience and non-resistance"!

Even Catholics like Charles Carroll of Carrollton, though perhaps he heard of Bellarmine and Suarez from his Jesuit brother, seem to have picked up Catholic democratic views at secondhand.[1] As to the Declaration of Independence, there is little use in seeking its exact and immediate literary parentage. The considerations outlined in this article show that its ancestry was Catholic, its principles were ultimately derived from Schoolmen and Jesuits and increasingly appropriated by Puritans and Whigs, until by 1776 the "popery" which once horrified had become the accepted commonplace of all progressive minds. "Neither aiming at originality of principle or sentiment," wrote Jefferson in 1825,[2] "nor yet copied from any particular or previous writings, it was intended to be an expression of the American mind and to give to that expression the proper tone and spirit called for by the occasion. All its authority rests then on harmonising sentiments of the day, whether expressed in conversation, in letters, printed essays or in the elementary books of public right as Aristotle, Cicero, Locke, Sidney, etc." It is the "etc." which this article has essayed to detail. If the Declaration is "an expression of the American mind," it is, to say the least, somewhat remarkable that it should be such an accurate transcript of the Catholic mind.

ALFRED RAHILLY.

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[1] Carroll had a notebook filled with extracts from radical writers. As late as 1876 "well-thumbed copies of the writings of Locke, Hobbes, Selden, and Puffendorf, in English, Latin and German, as well as many French books of the same character were to be found in the library at Doughoregan Manor where they had been used by the illustrious signers [signer ?] of the Declaration of Independence" —L. Leonard, *Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, 1918, p. 138.

[2] *Works* (Ford), x., 343 (Foley, *The Jeffersonian Cyclopedia*, §2113).

PRECEPTS AND PRACTICE IN IRELAND, 1914-19.

BY JOHN J. HORGAN.

"What we seek is the reign of law based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organised opinion of mankind."—President Wilson, at Washington's Tomb, July 4, 1918.

"Our conduct to Ireland during the whole of this war has been that of a man who subscribes to hospitals, weeps at charity sermons, carries out broth and blankets to beggars, and then comes home and beats his wife and children. We have compassion for the victims of all other oppression and injustice except our own."—Sydney Smith, in 1807.

"THE British Empire," said General Smuts, "is not founded on might or force, but on moral principles—on principles of freedom, equality and equity. It is these principles which we stand for to-day in this mighty struggle."[1] This statement is entirely accurate so far as the British Dominions are concerned. It is the secret of their prosperity, their contentment and their sacrifice. If it were accurate as regards Ireland, no more need be said. But unfortunately it is not. The purpose of this article is to show the difference between preaching and practice so far as Ireland is concerned.

The war aims laid down and expounded by English statesmen have not lacked clearness of expression nor the emphasis of reiteration. They have been stressed and repeated till the whole world rang with their high sense of political morality, while the finer phrases of President Wilson were but their sonorous echo. Let us briefly recall in chronological order a few of those pronouncements which seem peculiarly applicable to the case of Ireland :—

"We are fighting to vindicate the principle that small nationalities are not to be crushed, in defiance of international good faith, by the arbitrary will of a strong

[1] Committee Room, House of Commons, April 2, 1917.

and overmastering power." (Mr. Asquith, Prime Minister, in the House of Commons, Aug. 6, 1914).

"We are fighting for the moral forces of humanity. We are fighting for the respect of public law and the right of public justice, which are the foundations of civilisation. We are fighting, as the Prime Minister said, for right against might." (Mr. Bonar Law, Leader of the Opposition, at the Guildhall, Sept. 4, 1914).

"The heroic deeds that thrill humanity through generations were the deeds of little nations fighting for their freedom. Yes, and the salvation of mankind came through a little nation. God has chosen little nations as the vessels by which He carries His choicest wines to the lips of humanity, to rejoice their hearts, to exalt their vision, to stimulate and strengthen their faith; and if we had stood by when two little nations were being crushed and broken by the brutal hands of barbarism, our shame would have rung down the everlasting ages." (Mr. Lloyd George, at the Queen's Hall, Sept. 19, 1914).

"What does it [the idea of public right] mean when translated into concrete terms? It means, first and foremost, the clearing of the ground by the definite repudiation of militarism as the governing factor in the relations of States and of the future moulding of the European world. It means next that room must be found and kept for the independent existence and free development of the smaller nationalities, each with a corporate consciousness of its own." (Mr. Asquith, at Dublin, Sept. 25, 1914).

"No mean or petty motive animates any of those who are on our side in this world war. We are five nations; but we fight, not for ourselves alone, but for civilisation, drawn to the cause of small States, the cause of all those countries which desire to develop their own civilisation in their own way, following their own ideals without interference from any insolent and unauthorised aggressor. That is the cause for which we fight." (Mr. Balfour, at the Guildhall, Nov. 9, 1914).

"We shall never sheathe the sword, which we have not lightly drawn, until Belgium recovers in full measure all, and more than all, that she has sacrificed, until France is adequately secured against the menace of aggression, until the rights of the smaller nationalities of Europe are placed upon an unassailable foundation, and until the

military domination of Prussia is wholly and finally destroyed," (Mr. Asquith, at the Guildhall, Nov. 9, 1914).

"We wish the nations of Europe to be free to live their independent lives, working out their own forms of government for themselves and their own national developments, whether they be great States or small States, in full liberty. That is our ideal." (Sir Edward Grey, Foreign Minister, at the Bechstein Hall, March 22, 1915).

"Let us war against the principle of one set of Europeans holding down by force and conquest against their wills another section." (Mr. Winston Churchill, interviewed by Signor Calza-Bedolo and reported in *The Times*, Sept. 25, 1915).

"But, be the journey long or short, we shall not pause or falter until we have secured for the smaller States of Europe their charter of independence, and for the world at large its final emancipation from the reign of force." (Mr. Asquith, at the Guildhall, Nov. 9, 1915).

"We are in this struggle the champions not only of treaty rights, but of the independent status and free development of the weaker countries." (Mr. Asquith, Address to French Senators in London, April 19, 1916).

"This is a war . . . . perhaps I may say primarily, a war for the emancipation of the smaller states." (Mr. Asquith, at the Guildhall, Nov. 9, 1916).

"The British Government heartily join their Russian Allies in their acceptance and approval of the principles laid down by President Wilson in his historic message to the American Congress.[1] These are the aims for which the British peoples are fighting. These are the principles by which their war policy is and will be guided." (British Reply to new Russian Government, June 8, 1917).

"But if this is the day of Great Empires, it is also preeminently the day of little nations. It is around them that the greatest struggle for liberty centres." (Mr. Lloyd George, at Birkenhead, Sept. 6, 1917).

"For the first time in history we may make an advance to the realisation of an ideal to which great men . . . have

[1] Part of President Wilson's historic message (April 2, 1917) was :—"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for the universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as will bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

been groping their way. . . . . It is the creation of a world-wide policy uniting the peoples in a confederation of which Justice will be the base and Liberty the corner-stone." (Mr. Asquith, at Leeds, Sept. 26, 1917).

"The settlement of the new Europe must be based on such grounds of reason and justice as will give some promise of stability. Therefore it is that we feel that government with the consent of the governed must be the basis of any territorial settlement in this war." (Mr. Lloyd George, Trade Union Conference, Jan. 5, 1918).

"On the other side we have the principle for which the Allies stand: Freedom, the doctrine of which we in this country have reason to be proud—the doctrine that government must be carried on by the consent of the governed. No real culture, no national existence could be built upon oppression and the subjugation of nations rightly struggling to be free." (Lord Robert Cecil, May 22, 1918).

"President Wilson yesterday made it clear what we are fighting for.[1] If the Kaiser and his advisers will accept the conditions voiced by the President, they can have peace with America, peace with France, and peace with Great Britain to-morrow." (Mr. Lloyd George, Address to American Troops in France, July 5, 1918).

Let us turn from these great and sonorous statements, and see how they have been applied to Ireland, a country which Mr. Hilaire Belloc, one of the best informed English publicists, rightly describes as the "oldest conscious nationality in Europe."

On August 4, 1914, England declared war on Germany. On the previous day, speaking in the House of Commons, Sir Edward Grey, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, declared—"The one bright spot in the whole of this terrible situation is Ireland." And Mr. John Redmond,

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[1] Mr. Lloyd George was referring to President Wilson's speech at the Tomb of Washington. The second condition of peace laid down in that speech was: "The settlement of every question, whether of territory or sovereignty, of economic arrangement or of practical relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery."

speaking in the same debate as the fully accredited representative of Nationalist Ireland, said :—

> I say to the Government that they may to-morrow withdraw every one of their troops from Ireland. I say that the coasts of Ireland will be defended from foreign invasion by her armed sons, and for this purpose armed Nationalist Catholics in the South will be only too glad to join arms with the armed Protestant Ulstermen of the North. Is it too much to hope that out of this situation there may spring a result which will be good not merely for the Empire, but good for the future welfare and integrity of the Irish nation ?

This is the exact Hansard text of his words, which have been since grossly distorted, and which contained an offer that could be made even at the present moment by any Irish Nationalist. It was in effect an anticipation of the plea for self-determination and self-defence. What then was the occasion for these words, and how did Ireland stand ?

The long constitutional struggle for national autonomy within the British Empire was apparently drawing to a close. A Home Rule Bill, limited in its financial provisions but elastic in nature, had been introduced by the Liberal Government in April, 1912. Accepted almost unanimously by the Irish people, it had undergone two years of merciless political opposition. Having passed three times through the House of Commons by majorities varying from 110 to 77, it only awaited the automatic operation of the Parliament Act to pass it into law. It represented, indeed, to use Mr. Asquith's words, "a solemn international obligation, an obligation which if it had been entered into between private persons in the ordinary concerns of life would have been regarded as an obligation not only of law but of honour." But the opposition to its enactment had taken a most violent and unconstitutional course. A small minority of the Irish people, occupying for the most part the north-east corner of Ulster, with the powerful assistance of the English aristocracy, had set themselves to oppose the thrice

repeated decision of Parliament. Rebellion was openly preached, men were drilled, arms were landed, the assistance of the Kaiser was invoked, the forces of the Crown were defied and their commanders seduced from their allegiance. Nay more, the Protestant Church of Ulster, through the mouths of its leading dignitaries, solemnly blessed and consecrated these criminal performances. Nor was this conduct confined to Ulster. The platforms of England rang with the protestations of Mr. Bonar Law and his party that if Ulster resisted the law she would not be alone.[1]

The Government, after wavering between a policy of compromise and bluff, had lapsed into a state of semi-paralysed impotence. In March, 1914, they had finally made a proposal for settlement by county option—each county being given the right to vote itself out of the Bill. In June an amending Bill based on these proposals had been introduced in the House of Lords. Two weeks before the declaration of war, when matters were fast approaching a crisis, the King had taken the unprecedented step of summoning the various Party leaders to a Conference in the hope of arriving at a compromise on the basis of defining an area in Ulster to be excluded from the operation of the Bill. The Conference, after four meetings, was unable to agree either in principle or detail to such an area. This was on July 24th. Then came the war, and for six weeks the Government took no definite steps to deal with the Irish situation. On September 15th, after much recrimination and procrastination, Mr. Asquith introduced the Suspensory Bill, which prevented the Home Rule Act from coming into force until the end of the war. He declared at the same time that the coercion

[1] Mr. Asquith, speaking at Ladybank on Oct. 5, 1912, said: "The reckless rodomontade at Blenheim in the early summer, as developed and amplified in this Ulster campaign, furnishes for the future a complete grammar of anarchy." Such a grammar of anarchy, compiled from the anti-Home Rule speeches of Cabinet Ministers and their friends, was published in 1918 with the sanction of the British Censor in Ireland; but its circulation was subsequently prohibited and all stocks were seized by order of the British Government in Ireland.

of Ulster was unthinkable. On September 18th the Home Rule Act reached a position of suspended animation on the Statute Book, where it has since remained. On October 2nd, Sir Edward Carson, speaking at Belfast, declared that the Home Rule Act was a nullity, and that those who dared could come and try to enforce it in Ulster.

All these proceedings aroused deep irritation and suspicion in Ireland, but in spite of this Mr. Redmond was able to announce in Dublin, on April 5, 1915, that over 25,000 National Volunteers had joined the British Army in response to his appeals, and that altogether a quarter of a million Irishmen were with the colours. This response appears all the more generous when we remember that recruiting in Nationalist Ireland had been mismanaged and discouraged, that affronts, both public and private, had been offered to the Irish regiments, and that Mr. Redmond's own offer of the services of the Volunteers for Home Defence had been ignored.[1] The situation was further aggravated when the Coalition Ministry was set up on May 19, 1915, and contained amongst its members the following leaders of the Ulster Campaign: Sir Edward Carson, Attorney General; Sir F. E. Smith; Solicitor General; Mr. Bonar Law, Secretary for the Colonies; Mr. Walter Long, President of the Local Government Board; Mr. John Gordon, Attorney General for Ireland. From that moment it became clear that Ireland had been sold again, and the constitutional party began to steadily lose ground. Exasperation born of disillusionment had its ultimate and natural end in the Rebellion of April, 1916. This event, though localised and lacking general support, was destined to mark a turning-point in the history of Ireland.

[1] Mr. Lloyd George, answering Mr. John Redmond in the House of Commons (Oct. 18, 1916), said: "I wish I could give answer to my hon. friend's criticisms; but some of the stupidities (which sometimes almost look like malignities) which were perpetrated at the beginning of recruiting in Ireland are beyond belief. I do not know who was responsible. I remember that I was perfectly appalled at the methods adopted to try and induce the Irish people to join the ranks. It really looked as if someone were discouraging them."

Immediately after the Rebellion Mr. Asquith announced his intention of visiting Dublin for the purpose of consulting the civil and military authorities. After a hurried visit to Dublin, Belfast and Cork, he returned to London, and on May 26 announced in the House of Commons that Dublin Castle rule in Ireland had broken down and that the Government had asked Mr. Lloyd George to negotiate with the Irish leaders for the purpose of arriving at a settlement. The two Irish leaders, Mr. Redmond and Sir Edward Carson, agreed to the headings of a settlement which was to be ratified by their followers in Ireland. These headings were briefly as follows :— The Home Rule Act to be brought into operation at once, excluding the six counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down, Fermanagh, Derry and Tyrone ; the sitting Irish members to constitute the first Irish House of Commons ; the Senate to be nominated by the Lord Lieutenant ; the Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament to remain unchanged pending a permanent settlement ; the amending Bill to remain in force during the war and for a period of twelve months thereafter ; at the close of the war an Imperial Conference to consider the Irish question. On June 9th the settlement was accepted by the Ulster Unionists, and on June 23rd by the Ulster Nationalists.

No sooner was the settlement accepted in Ireland than the die-hard element in England resolved to wreck it. On June 25th Lord Selborne, the President of the Board of Agriculture, resigned as a protest, and on July 13th Lord Lansdowne, a member of the Cabinet, made a bitter anti-Irish speech in the House of Lords in which he declared that the exclusion of the Ulster Counties would be permanent. Finally, on July 24th, Mr. Asquith announced that the Government could not agree to one of the principal terms in the settlement arranged with the full consent and approval of their own plenipotentiary, Mr. George, namely, the retention of the Irish members in full strength at Westminster. Mr. Redmond immediately denounced the breach of faith, and the settlement fell through.

In December, 1916, Mr. Lloyd George became Prime Minister. In March, 1917, the necessity for placating America, then about to enter the war, once more forced the Irish question to the front, and the Government, through Mr. Bonar Law, undertook "in some way or another to make another attempt" at an Irish settlement. The result was the Irish Convention, foredoomed to failure by the imposition of two conditions both utterly undemocratic and unjust, namely, that something like complete unanimity should be achieved, and that North-East Ulster should not be compelled to accept the findings. Beginning on July 25, 1917, it ended on April 8, 1918, with the presentation of a majority and two minority reports. Mr. Redmond, after a supreme attempt to conciliate the Ulster Unionists, had died in the previous month. On February 25th Mr. Lloyd George had written to Sir Horace Plunkett that, even if the Convention failed to secure a settlement by consent, the settlement of the Irish question would still be "a task incumbent upon the Government"—a task which they proceeded to discharge by applying the Conscription Acts to Ireland on the same day (April 10th) as they published the Convention Report. In the face of this new and terrible attack upon their liberty, the Irish people immediately closed up their ranks. The Mansion House Conference, representing all shades of Nationalist opinion, and backed by the organised power of Labour and the Church, decisively defeated this wicked conspiracy.

The Government were humiliated; but they determined to hit back. The Convention Report and all attempts to draft a new Home Rule Bill were at once scrapped, whilst a military dictator was appointed to "keep law and order" in Ireland.[1] At frequent intervals

[1] "Not only was bread withheld, but the stone was proffered. Conscription was decreed. Home Rule was dropped. Ireland was declared insurrectionary. Popular leaders were incarcerated, and a military régime was established." (Lord Wimborne, Letter to *The Times*, March 25, 1919).

the Conscription Act was rattled, like a sword of Damocles, over our heads. That the new régime might work efficiently radical changes were made in the Irish Executive—in the offices of Chief Secretary, Lord Chancellor, Lord Chief Justice, Commander of the Forces, and other functionaries, great and small.[1] In the House of Lords (June 20, 1918) Lord Wimborne, who had just been relieved of the office of Viceroy, commented on these changes thus :—

> As far as one could see, the changes had removed from the Irish Government all or nearly all who had sympathy with Irish Nationality. The change had been so complete and dramatic that one was entitled to ask the Government what it might portend. In partial explanation the Government had alleged a German Plot ; but it seemed strange that, in view of the highly specialised means of obtaining information which recently existed in Ireland, neither I nor, as far as I am aware, any member of Irish Executive had been aware of the existence of the plot until it was discovered by the British Government.

For alleged complicity in this German Plot eighty-one persons were arrested and deported to England. During practically ten months[2] they were kept in prison without trial, though the Government failed to substantiate any definite charge against them, and failed to prove even the existence of the Plot. Such arbitrary action used to be branded as peculiarly characteristic of Prussian militarism. Unfortunately we shall have to record many other actions of a similar character.

The General Election of December, 1918, with its overwhelming Sinn Fein victory, only registered what had been a *fait accompli* for many months. It was indeed far more than a mere party victory, it registered Ireland's

[1] Sir Ignatius O'Brien, a Catholic Home Ruler, was succeeded in the Lord Chancellorship by Sir J. H. Campbell, Legal Assessor to the Ulster Provisional Government ; General Sir Bryan Mahon confessed that he relinquished the Irish Command " with deep regret."

[2] From May 18, 1918, to March 7, 1919. On the morning of March 6, Mr. P. J. McCan, M.P., died in Gloucester Prison. This unhappy incident probably hastened the general release.

unmistakeable and unanswerable claim to self-determination; for on this platform the Nationalist candidates of all parties were united. This claim has been met by methods of coercion and repression which are common to all those who seek "by the arbitrary will of a strong and overmastering power" to crush a small nationality. Arrests for the most trivial political offences have been continuous. The most vindictive and excessive sentences[1] have been imposed for the smallest offence. People have been sentenced to a month's imprisonment for collecting in the streets, for singing the "Soldier's Song," for whistling derisively at a policemen, for carrying a Sinn Fein flag; to two months' imprisonment for being suspected of drilling; to three months' imprisonment for entering a proclaimed district without a permit, for wearing a volunteer uniform, for using seditious language, for giving a name in Irish; to one year's hard labour for refusing to answer a police question; to two years' hard labour for having a shot gun and ammunition, for singing seditious songs at a concert, for reading publicly a manifesto of the Irish Republican Party declaring the right of the Irish people to free speech. In the year 1917 there took place in Ireland 349 arrests for political offences, 11 raids, in each of which large numbers of private houses were entered and searched, 18 baton and bayonet charges, 24 deportations without trial, 36 courtmartials, 269 sentences, and seven deaths arising from the violation of "public right.[2]" In 1918 there were 1,107 arrests, 260

[1] Some months ago Judge Bodkin, in reversing an excessive sentence for illegal assembly, said:—"It was an unjust, vindictive and unreasonable sentence."—*Independent*, January 24, 1919.

[2] On September 25, 1917, Thomas Ashe died in the Mater Hospital, Dublin, whither he had been removed from Mountjoy Prison. The verdict of the jury at the inquest was:—"We find that the deceased, Thomas Ashe, according to the medical evidence of Professor McWeeney, Sir Arthur Chance and Sir Thomas Myles, died of heart failure and congestion of the lungs on Sept. 25, 1917; that it was caused by the punishment of taking away from the cell bed, bedding, and boots, and allowing him to lie on the cold floor for fifty hours, and then subjecting him to forcible feeding in his weak condition after hunger strike for five or six days. . . . We find that the taking away of the deceased's bed, bedding and boots was an unfeeling and barbarous act."

raids, 81 baton or bayonet charges, 32 public meetings suppressed, 91 deportations, 12 papers suppressed, 62 courtmartials, 973 sentences, and six deaths through military violence or prison treatment. A French paper recently stated that 860 persons were sentenced to imprisonment in Northern France during 1917-18 under the German military occupation. The persons imprisoned in Ireland during the same period numbered 1,333.

Moreover, numerous districts in Ireland have been proclaimed as military areas, and their innocent inhabitants denied the most elementary liberty. Recently the whole economic life of Limerick came to a standstill in consequence of such a proclamation. The military cordon was so drawn that certain industries could not be reached without permits, and for these permits the workers refused to apply. They considered the action of the military authorities to be a gross violation of a fundamental right —the right to work and earn their living. Courtmartials sit to try political offences under a special code of stringent enactments designed to substitute military law for trial by jury. In addition, a special institution known as the Crimes Court, which was originally devised by Mr. Balfour, has been revived. This tribunal consists of two Government magistrates, generally ex-army or police officers, who act without a jury, and have a general and omnipotent jurisdiction. In reality the Crimes Court is a kind of ambulatory courtmartial. Not even a semblance of free speech is allowed to exist in Ireland. It is a penal offence to even listen to a proclaimed speech, and one sentence of three months' imprisonment has been inflicted for this offence. Neither sex, nor youth, nor old age has mitigated such sentences. Last February two children, aged respectively eleven and thirteen years were arrested in the County Tipperary and removed to the Dublin Police Depot. There they were illegally detained for several weeks till the matter was publicly exposed by a motion in the Courts under the Habeas Corpus Act.

Before the motion could be heard, the police authorities judged it wiser to release them. The Lord Chief Justice and the Divisional Court marked their opinion of the Government's conduct by giving costs against the Crown.[1]

It must be remembered that all this display of militarism, with its paraphernalia of tanks, barbed wire, armoured cars, machine guns and aeroplanes, has taken place in a country which is singularly free from ordinary crime. In 1917-18 the Judges of Assize, most of whom are anti-Irish by training and political bias, commented all over Ireland on the crimelessness of the country. On forty-one different occasions during these two years they congratulated the Grand Juries upon the remarkable absence of "ordinary" crime, namely, crime of a non-political nature. On March 1, 1917, Mr. Justice Gibson said at Co. Wicklow Assizes :—

> As far as the general state of the country was concerned, he was informed, as was the usual pleasing experience of Judges of Assize, that it was in its ordinary peaceful and satisfactory condition.

On March 4, 1918, Mr. Justice Ross said at Waterford :—

> There was actually no return of any crime in connexion with the city. It was a very gratifying circumstance, because one would expect, in a city such as this, that crimes aggravated or less aggravated would take place. It was a great credit to the people.

And on March 26, 1919, Lord Justice O'Connor addressed the Cork City Grand Jury as follows :—

> This Assize concludes the criminal business for Munster, and perhaps I may be allowed to make one or two observations on

[1] Mr. MacVeagh asked the Chief Secretary in the House of Commons (May 8, 1919)—"Whether his attention had been called to the circumstances of the abduction by the police of a child, eleven years, Timothy Connors, from Greenane, Tipperary, to Dublin ; whether he was aware that, on notice of issue by the High Court of a writ of habeas corpus, the child was surreptiously returned to his parents, and that an affidavit was then sworn by the Assistant Inspector General of the R.I.C. that the child was not in his custody or charge ; whether he was aware that the Lord Chief Justice severely criticised the affidavit as lacking in candour and respect to the Court ; whether he could say how such conduct could be reconciled with the statement that the child was arrested in the interests of justice ; whether the Inspector General was still in office, and whether the costs of the legal proceedings would be defrayed by the Assistant Inspector General or by the taxpayer." (The answer, too long for reproduction, was typical of Dublin Castle camouflage.)

the criminal business as it occurs to my mind. The most remarkable fact that I have observed is that there was only one case of sexual offence tried at these Assizes. That is a very remarkable thing. I wonder if it is paralleled in any community in the world, considering the population of this province of Munster, considering the time that has elapsed. Sexual offences are practically non-existent in the province of Munster. That is a matter of which you may well be proud, and I congratulate you upon it. The other crimes that have been reported are neither alarming in number nor in character. In the County Clare, for example, I had to remark upon the very marked diminution in ordinary crime ; and if matters rested there, of course, affairs would be entirely satisfactory ; but you know as well as I know that side by side with this comparatively crimeless condition of Munster there is political unrest, which is fraught with danger and disorder. How long that state of things will continue I know not. Whether there is any remedy for it, and what is that remedy, is not a matter that you and I can discuss here, but certainly the curious contrast I have referred to is one that must give reasons for serious thought to all well-wishers of the country and to those in authority over us.

Side by side with the attempt to stifle the voice of the Irish people a more insidious and even more deadly scheme is being hatched to control Ireland's economic life and make it entirely subservient to English interests.[1] A Bill has just been introduced into Parliament which probably exceeds in importance, scope and power any single Bill ever previously laid before the English Parliament. It proposes to place all transport, sources of production, and all projects for future development in the hands of the British Government, and to give a single Minister power to strangle or foster particular industries and to favour or penalise particular localities. This new Minister of Ways and Communications will control and finance, and (if he sees fit) acquire and work, railways, roads, bridges, ferries, harbours, canals, docks, and piers. In fact he will be supreme over all forms of transport, and will control the main arteries of the nation's life. It is unnecessary to ask whose interests will be considered in

[1] See the Report of the Standing Committee on Legislation of the Irish County Councils' General Council, to which the writer is much indebted for facts and figures.

the application of this law to Ireland. Bitter experience has taught us what to expect.

Again, it is proposed to introduce another Bill which will hand over full control of our native timber and forestry development to another autocratic authority operating from London, thus violating a formal agreement (ratified on October 23, 1917) " for the permanent organisation and endowment of forestry in Ireland." Other schemes of reconstruction include the establishment of a Ministry of Health based entirely upon English necessities and applied to Ireland without consideration or regard for our different conditions. Finally, it is proposed to apply Proportional Representation to Ireland, not because of its merits as an electoral system, but because it is hoped thereby to cripple the Sinn Fein Party in the forthcoming municipal elections.[1] Moreover, this same Bill proposes to give the Local Government Board absolutely autocratic powers to supersede and replace any local authority in Ireland by an irresponsible official, thereby negativing the most elementary principles of democratic government.[2]

How three of these Bills affect Ireland is made clear by the following question addressed (May 5, 1919) by the General Council of County Councils to the Irish Government :—

To inquire whether the net result of the passage of these Bills into law and their full enforcement would not be tantamount to a carefully planned system of " peaceful penetration " designed—

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[1] It is interesting to note that the Sinn Fein leaders have publicly pronounced in favour of the Bill because they consider it just that minorities should have representation. The Ulster Leaders on the other hand are violently opposing its passage because the Catholic minority will at last have a chance of being represented in the municipal councils of N.E. Ulster. Belfast Corporation and Belfast Harbour Board pay £79,992 in salaries. Out of this expenditure Catholics receive only £1,018, though they constitute practically a fourth (24·1 per cent.) of the city's population. " I would as soon trust a number of lambs before a jury of butchers as trust Catholic interests to the Belfast Corporation," remarked Mr. Devlin in the House of Commons, May 9, 1919.

[2] Since the above was written, the Government have been forced to withdraw the penal clause referred to. (See *Freeman*, May 14).

(*a*) to transfer supreme control of Irish services from Dublin to London; (*b*) to pack the staffs of Irish departments—particularly in the higher grades—with British officials; (*c*) to plant upon Irish hillsides British colonies; (*d*) to encourage the transfer of Irish railway, banking and commercial undertakings to British ownership; (*e*) to deprive the Irish Parliament of any effective control over the roads, railways, canals, harbours and docks of Ireland, and all systems of internal and external communications—in fact, of everything essential to the development of the country and its resources.

No doubt we shall be told that these Bills involve the substantial increase of Imperial expenditure in Ireland and that we must be grateful for the doles that are given us. But what are the facts? For the last three years Ireland's contribution to the Imperial Exchequer totals £30,275, 500. The returns for 1918-19 are not yet available; but it is probably accurate to state that Revenue will total 34 and Expenditure 14 millions. In other words, during the four years ending on March 31, 1919, the contribution of Ireland—whose taxable capacity was estimated by the Childers Commission in 1896 as being less than £5,000,000 per annum—must have amounted to £102,000,000. With her drawings at £52,000,000, this leaves a balance of £50,000,000 to her credit. Against this balance she has received practically no share of the enormous war expenditure on munitions,[1] and even were she to receive belated grants for reconstruction they would still leave an enormous balance due. No one can now hide the fact that Ireland is being shamelessly exploited and that freedom is the only road to national solvency.

I will not attempt to measure the gulf between English precepts and English practice as revealed in the government of Ireland. I have quoted declarations and facts which are beyond dispute. If I were to sum up my conclusions in a general verdict, that verdict might be discounted as born of prejudice and a heated imagination.

[1] See Mr. Riordan's article, "Restraint of Industry," in STUDIES, June, 1918.

I prefer to give the verdict of an Englishman, Major Erskine Childers, D.S.C. :—

To the great majority of Irishmen Great Britain now signifies " Prussianism " incarnate, and with good reason. . . . The revolting scandal presented by Ireland at this moment cannot be permitted to last. Great Britain is making war, literally, on the principle of freedom. I think it is true to say that in no country has the innermost inspiration of a national movement been so divorced from materialistic motives or so pure an outcome of a people's passionate will to be master of its own soul and destiny. Force, simple force, is the reply ; a military terror ; machine-guns, tanks, bombing aeroplanes ; soldiers ignorant of law dispensing justice by Court-martial ; a rigid censorship and, permeating society, a host of those detestable if indispensable products of military government, police spies and informers.

Ireland is an almost crimeless country in the ordinary sense. Judge after judge has been receiving white gloves for a blank assize, while Courts-martial fill the gaols with State-created criminals guilty, or suspected of being guilty, of offences, many grotesquely trivial, and all directly attributable to the absence of the first condition of an orderly society, a government chosen by the people. A very few, a marvellously few, serious crimes occur ; for the whole system is an invitation, an incitement to crime. . . . .

Ireland is now the only white nationality in the world (let us leave coloured possessions out of the discussion) where the principle of self-determination is not, at least in theory, conceded. It is the last of the " problems " which were left in 1914, and it is incomparably the simplest. It is simplicity itself compared with those resulting from the collapse of Russia, Austria, and Germany, where the intermixture of races speaking different languages and the absence of clearly-defined or maritime boundaries do cause difficulties of real complexity. Nevertheless, Great Britain is fixing and guaranteeing the boundaries of these new States, of which so little is known that the Prime Minister can joke in Parliament about his ignorance till yesterday of the position on the map of one of the numerous " Ulsters." Is she in the same breath to decline to deal with Ireland, whose uninterrupted historical identity and boundaries nobody can mistake ? Ireland, the last unliberated white community on the face of the globe ? (Letter to *The Times*, May 5, 1919).

JOHN J. HORGAN.

A PICTURE BY FRA ANGELICO.

A Paper read in the National Gallery, Dublin, before the National Literary Society of Ireland.

BY CAPTAIN R. LANGTON DOUGLAS, M.A.,

Director of the National Gallery.

THERE are in Dublin people of some education who think that the contemplation and study of works by old masters is either entirely a waste of time, or at least an inferior branch of archæology. Those members of the community who have had less education, though not quite so neglectful of the gallery as those who have had greater opportunities of culture, live and die, for the most part, without enjoying the pleasures and solaces of this place. As a consequence this gallery, which is, in the United Kingdom, second only to the National Gallery of England in importance, and as a collection representing all the chief schools of painting is excelled by the public gallery of no other small nation, is as a rule a very lonely place.

Now there must be some reason for this neglect. The Irishman is certainly not lacking in intelligence, nor is he so indifferent to his own interests as some would have us believe. The people of Dublin do not come here, because they do not realise what this place can do for them.

Now what is it that this place can do for us ? Well ! there are three main ways in which a public gallery may benefit a people. In the first place, it is of use to artists. I do not refer here to the benefits the art-student gains by copying the works of some master of technique. I mean something more important than that. A work of art has

a certain fertilising quality. It communicates to the artist who contemplates it a certain kind of emotion, which may become the very seed-plot of a new life. A work of art, as Wilde said, often is the starting point for a new artistic creation. And this new creation may be of an entirely different character to the work of art from which it took its origin, and in a different medium. It may, too, be a vastly superior work of art to its parent. What a wonderful effect, for example, the contemplation of late and even bad pieces of classical sculpture had upon the great artists of the Renaissance, such as Donatello and Jacopo della Quercia! A work of art is not a dead thing. It is a live thing. It preserves for us something that is vital in the past. It bears in itself the seeds of a new and a separate life. There is no need to elaborate this here. Velasquez himself, and Whistler, and Augustus John have been most deeply indebted for inspiration, not to their immediate forerunners, but to long dead artists. Velasquez! the very name is an answer to my critics. What does not modern art owe to his vivifying works! What did not he himself owe to a master of an early age—Tintoretto!

But we are not all artists or art students. Some of us are students of human history, or at least are interested in humanity. As men, nothing that has to do with man is foreign to us. Well! a work of art can often tell us a great deal about the men of a past age. History has, in the past, relied too much on the study of documents. To understand the men of a past age, we must not only study written records, we must know something about the houses those men lived in, the implements they used, we must study their portraits, above all, we must study the rhythmic expression of the emotions of those men—their works of art.

But a place like this is not merely useful to the artist and the historical student. It also has its use for every member of the community, for the man in the street, for the child in the street.

Art, it has been said, is the expression of desire. That is true, but it is only part of the truth. For art gives harmonic expression to many other emotions than those that are included in the word "desire." And every great work of art is capable of doing two things for us. In the first place, it can communicate to us a certain kind of emotion, and can give us a certain quality of pleasure. Secondly, as the great artist sees and feels more than the average person, he can open our eyes and make us see things which we would not otherwise have seen. He can enlarge, refine and purify our emotions. He can give us a fuller, richer life.

There ought to be no necessity to labour this point. The cultural value of picture galleries is recognised by all modern authorities on education. It is, in fact, merely ignorance that prevents men and women from coming here. If they realised that this gallery was a source of life and pleasure, and a means of self-culture, in the best sense of the word, they would not keep away.

The few who do visit this place frequently are not, then, idlers or cranks. They come here for a definite purpose, and they receive a definite reward.

Having thus justified our presence here to-day, we will proceed to study together one of the pictures in this collection, Fra Angelico's "Scene from the Lives of SS. Cosmas and Damian."

One of the reasons why I have chosen to speak first here of a work of Fra Angelico is that this is a very religious country, and that the *frate* was, in very truth, a religious painter. An artist always does best what he wants to do, what he can scarcely help doing. In Fra Angelico's day the Church was the chief employer of artists; and the Church, of course, wanted religious pictures. Therefore artists had to paint pictures with religious subjects or to starve. But many of them did not really want to paint religious subjects. To such men only two courses were open: either they had to strive to render a subject which

they did not like, which did not appeal to their imagination, or to paint another subject not religious—at least in the sense in which their employers understood religion—and give it a religious title. Many of the Florentines and most of the Venetians chose this latter alternative. An artist gave the world a more or less agreeable presentation of his wife or his mistress, and called it a "Madonna." He painted a picnic-party of well-dressed aristocrats or bourgeois, and called the picture a "Sacred Conversation." He painted the beautiful nude bodies of some Italian youth and maid, and wrote under his canvas "Adam and Eve."

But Fra Angelico was driven to no such shifts. Pictures with religious subjects were required of him, and religious subjects were just those that he was longing to paint. And so innate, so essential a part of him, were his artistic qualities that the fervour of his religious emotion scarcely ever marred the decorative character of his work. In him, as I have said, the artist and the saint, the devout Catholic and the man of the Renaissance, were in perfect harmony.

And in the first place, let us say, by way of an introduction to this study, a few words about Fra Angelico and his age. Guido da Vicchio, afterwards known in religion as Fra Giovanni da Fiesole, was born in the year 1387. It seems that in his youth he studied art under some master in Florence; but nothing is known definitely of the details of his early training. When he was twenty years old, moved by the eloquence of Giovanni Dominici, the great Dominican teacher, he sought admission to the Convent of the Reformed Dominicans of Fiesole. He went with them into exile two years later; and it was not until 1418 that the Order returned to Fiesole. It was in the year 1436 that the Brothers took up their residence in Florence, at San Marco, whose walls were to be made beautiful by the friar's frescoes. For about eleven fruitful years San Marco was Fra Angelico's home. The last eight years of the artist's life, from 1447 to 1455, were spent in Rome.

The picture before us is a part of the predella of the

great Madonna of San Marco, of which the main panel now hangs, in a ruined state, in the Florence Academy. This altar-piece was begun soon after the Order had settled in Florence, and was finished in 1439 or 1440. It marks the turning point in Fra Angelico's life. When he came to the city the new movement was at its height. Brunelleschi's dome had just been consecrated by the Pope himself. Ghiberti was engaged upon his second great door. Donatello was at work in the sacristy of San Lorenzo. Luca della Robbia had nearly completed his Cantoria. Filippo Lippi was painting his "Coronation of the Virgin." Paolo Uccello, Andrea del Castagno, and Domenico Veneziano were also at work in Florence; but no one of them had yet given to the world his most important paintings.

The Renaissance, as has been so often said, was both "a return to antiquity and a return to nature." The movement was not regarded by its first promoters as being in any way hostile to Catholicism. Fra Angelico, like Ambrogio Traversari and Tommaso Parentucelli —afterwards Nicholas the Fifth—was not hostile to the new movement. He was not "un maître en retard." He was in sympathy with his age. We find in his work abundant evidence of his sympathy both with the return to antiquity and the return to nature. And nowhere is this more clearly seen than in some of the panels which form the altar-piece of San Marco. In the "Madonna and Child with Saints" itself, as well as in one of the predella panels which is at Munich, there is abundant evidence that the artist was even in advance of contemporary painters in his study of antique forms. Moreover, in the landscape of the main panel we see a careful study of nature.

Now that we know something of the history of Fra Angelico and of the altar-piece of which this picture formed a part, let us examine the little panel itself. But first of all, let me remark that this is not, by any means, one of the greatest of the master's paintings. For, in the first

place, Fra Angelico's finest works are in fresco; he was a great master of structural decoration. Secondly, this picture depicts an act of violence. The Friar hated violence of all kinds, and was not successful in representing it.

The first things that strike us in this picture are the gorgeous costumes of the Judge Lysias and his associates, and their fantastic oriental head-dresses. In these costumes we see the influence of the Pageant.

On the Florentine painters of this age, and notably on Fra Angelico, Benozzo Gozzoli, and Pesellino, the pageant, so characteristic a feature of Florentine life in the Quattrocento, exercised a most powerful influence. And at no time in her history did Florence see processions more frequent and more magnificent than during the year 1439. Early in that year the Council for the Union of the Churches of the East and the West had removed its seat from Ferrara to the banks of the Arno. Pope and Patriarch and Emperor came to Florence, with great pomp, with trains of prelates and princes; and for months afterwards there were frequent processions here and there in the old city, and imposing functions in the principal churches. Writers like Vespasiano da Bisticci have discoursed upon the splendour of the costumes of the strangers from the gorgeous East. Their rich silken robes, heavy with gold, were admired by all. But their fantastic head-dresses, which the learned regarded with interest, as being survivals of ancient forms of headgear, only excited the merriment of the populace. These head-dresses Fra Angelico, so observant of the moving world around him, regarded with a special interest. He sketched them with the object of using them pictorially in his representations of oriental life.

What a help it would be to young artists, what a stimulus to the growth of artistic feeling among the people, if we had frequent religious processions passing through our streets, and frequent historical pageants planned by Irish artists!

We see, also, revealed in this picture some of the master's interest in architectural forms, in the new palaces which were then springing up in Florence.

But if, after studying these details, we come to regard the picture as a whole, we find that, though it depicts an act of cruelty and violence, it breathes a wonderful joyousness. It is full of flower-like colour. And the happy calm of the saints and their young comrades radiates through the picture. The picture sings to us.

Fra Angelico was a member of a preaching Order. His pictures, it is true, were no mere pious illustrations. They were works of art. But seeing that this picture is the work of one who is both a friar and a saint, I shall not at least be acting contrary to *his* wishes if I point out the lesson that he himself would have us learn.

In this picture we see political power using brute force to overcome moral force. We see force attempting to quell and to oppress the indestructible soul of man. And we see the failure of material power to accomplish its end. The saints, unscathed, sing in the middle of the flames.

And so this panel teaches us a lesson sadly needed in these times, when almost everyone has a pathetic belief either in the magic of law and of political institutions, or in the power of the sword to make the world better. The favourite remedy of the world's physicians of to-day for the evils of tyranny is not Liberty, but more tyranny—tyranny of a different kind. There are few people now who believe in the futility of violence, and that "force is no remedy," whatever their spiritual creed may be. But that force, on which they lean, will prove a broken reed.

"Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit," saith the Lord of Hosts. *That* is the lesson taught by this panel. "The Kingdom of God is within you." The soul can neither be helped nor quelled by physical force. In the end it will triumph, and triumph easily and joyfully, over all violence and cruelty and oppression.

THE SPOKEN LANGUAGES OF MEDIEVAL IRELAND.

BY PROFESSOR EDMUND CURTIS, M.A.

THE first Norman invaders of Ireland, on their arrival here in 1169, found a Teutonic population strongly entrenched in the cities of the east and south, namely, the "Ostmen" (as they called themselves), men of Scandinavian descent, whose settlements had first begun about 850. The newcomers soon cleared these Irish Danes, such of them as did not abandon Ireland, out of the towns into the adjacent districts, and up to 1300 records show that they remained fairly numerous and important. But the race was soon absorbed either by the Norman-English or the Irish, and left little trace of itself.

As regards language, it is doubtful whether the Ostman population spoke Norse even at the time of the English invasion. They had since Clontarf been steadily sinking into the mass of the native race; their royal races, such as the Macgillemuires of Waterford, had already Gaelic patronymics, and the Norman lords evidently treated them as little better than the Irish, to whom the conquerors refused all legal rights. The survivors of the race are found petitioning against this treatment; thus Maurice MacOtere (*i.e.*, son of Otir), calling himself "an Ostman dwelling at the end of the world in Ireland," petitioned the King in 1289 to grant to himself and his race, 300 strong, English laws and liberties. This case and others show that, though the Ostmen knew their Teutonic origin,

they were now so identified with the Irish in speech, habit and name that the English were able on the face of things to treat them as such.

Many Scandinavian words are embedded in Middle and even Modern Irish; Bugge and Marstrander have shown that in all that relates to seacraft, for example, the loan-words in Irish and Scottish Gaelic are numerous; but it is clear that this element had already come in before the English invasion.

The Norman-French conquerors themselves and their men-at-arms were from the point of view of language and race a very motley crew. The Four Masters call the companions of Strongbow in 1170 "Flemings" (Flemendaigh), and it is well known that most of the first flight of conquerors came from S. Wales and that part of South Pembrokeshire where Henry I. had planted a colony of Flemings. Strongbow and De Lacy planted great numbers of their South Welsh retainers in the country, and "Fleming" is still a common name among us; but for all that there is no evidence that the Flemish speech took root in Ireland. So it was with Welsh. Many of the common soldiers were pure Britons—the names Walsh, Barrett, Lynnot, etc., are still borne by thousands of good Irishmen; and the troops used by the De Burgos in the Conquest of Connacht were so largely Welsh that, from the settlers of this race in Mayo, "the Welsh tribes of Tirawley" has become a familiar phrase. But numerous though the Welsh and Flemings were, they were soon absorbed on the one hand by the mass of Gaels or on the other by the English.

In effect French, English and Irish were the three rivals for linguistic supremacy in medieval Ireland. I do not forget Latin, which as a common medium for law, literature and education was as familiarly used as in every other European land at that time, both by the colonists and the Irish. Stanyhurst (*Description of Ireland*, 1587) says: "The Irish speak Latin like a vulgar language,

learned in their common schools of leechcraft and law." In Latin were also written those historical annals of Clyn and Grace which, apart from the Gaelic annals, are our main authorities for the history of these centuries.

But Latin was after all not a colloquial language. Of the three vernacular dialects, French (*i.e.*, Norman-French) was in Ireland as in England mainly an aristocratic language. The natural speech of the Fitzgeralds, Lacys, de Burgos, Marshalls, and others of the first conquerors was that of the ruling caste in the country they came from. It is quite certain that they were not familiar with English; for it was not till the reign of Edward I., a century later, that the speech of the Anglo-Saxon population became a second language for the English aristocracy from the King downwards.

Within a century after Strongbow's landing the Norman-French invaders had established themselves and their colonies over most of the South and East; and wherever they settled they brought with them their native tongue, which thus became one of the living languages of the island. As with the aristocratic class over all Western Europe, they delighted in the vernacular epics of Arthur and Charlemagne, and Norman-French had a literary culture in Ireland second only to Irish itself.

We must remember also that the Church, as in England, was staffed in its higher ranks mainly with Frenchmen or members of the French-speaking aristocracy, and that the lawyers among the colonists also made this language familiar; for in a debased form it was the vehicle of public law and justice. This was so in England, especially from 1275 till 1363, when by statute English took its place both for legal purposes and school instruction. In Ireland French was first used in Acts of Parliament in 1310, and, alternated occasionally by Latin, goes on to 1472. French is the language of the Statutes of Kilkenny (1366). It is only after 1472 that English comes to be used in Acts of Parliament. It is probable that it was not then

so familiar to the members of the Irish Assembly as it was to those of England. The prospects of French surviving in the rural districts were not great; the tide of English on the one hand and of Irish on the other was too strong. Nevertheless in the towns founded or rebuilt by the colonists this language was for a long time the one most affected by the ecclesiastics and the richer burgesses, who in origin were largely French or drawn from that English bourgeois class which had, some generations ago, followed William I. into England.

For a couple of centuries after the Conquest, French was the polite language, the language of commerce and civic government. Thus if we take the statutes and ordinances of the cities of Dublin, Waterford, Limerick and Galway, we find French and Latin used at first, then from 1365 onwards Latin and English. Irish, however much it might be heard in the streets, was never an official language in these towns. English was the common and best known tongue. French, though a polite speech, the lingua franca of trade, and, necessary as a legal jargon, was, in fact, not deeply rooted.

Even for these uses French died out steadily after a couple of centuries, and though travelled persons or ecclesiastics might boast of an acquaintance with a speech which would carry you over most of Europe, French as spoken by them was enough to make a Frenchman stare.

Kilkenny, which, under the shield of the Earls of Ormond, developed a real civilisation of its own, possibly preserved French better than most towns. The Red Book of Ossory, *i.e.*, a collection of documents relating to the city and dioceses, gives some interesting glimpses into the polyglot life of this city.

Richard Ledrede, who was bishop of Ossory, 1318-60, was an episcopal reformer. He was greatly scandalised at the frivolous ways of the cathedral clergy, who along with monks and priests were numerous in the gay little city. He found that they and their clerks were given to using,

on feastdays, songs which were base, secular, and only fit for mummers (cantilenae teatrales, turpes et seculares). Instead of these he himself wrote some sixty hymns in Latin. He stole, however, airs of the songs he meant to supersede, acting on the principle of General Booth, who "couldn't see why the Devil should have all the best tunes."

Bishop Ledrede gives the first line or two of the improper ditties above-mentioned; they are either in French or English, and are of interest as showing what were the popular songs of the day. Such are :—

(1) Have mercie, frere, barfote that y go.

(2) alas hou shold y syng, yloren is my playing
hou shold y with that olde man
to leven and (forget) my leman
swettist of al thinge.

(3) harrow, ieo su trahy
par fol amor de mal amy.

(4) heu alas pour amour
qy moy myst en taunt dolour.

Some of these may have been imported from England; others, if not all, may have been the composition of local singers, and thus may testify to the cultivation and use of English and French side by side in this Anglo-Irish town.[1]

In England, Norman-French has left a considerable body of literature. In Ireland also it seemed about to become the literary vehicle of much secular verse and prose. Next after Giraldus Cambrensis the Anglo-French *chanson de geste* called "The Song of Dermot and the Earl," composed by some follower of Strongbow, is the best authority for the Conquest. Later, in 1265, the founding of New Ross is the theme of a very spirited French ballad of the contemporary Michael Bernardi, a friar of

[1] *Red Book of Ossory*, p. 242. Hist. MSS. Comm., 10th Report.

Kildare, whose glowing picture of the glories of Ross makes his poem rather a romance than a historical document.

But the flowering of French was brief here. After these pieces, we have but a few literary fragments extant. Possibly much of this literature has simply perished. Among the nobles, French lingered longer than in the towns. Gerald, fourth Earl of Desmond, 1359-98, wrote French verses still extant in the Book of Ross.

Among our Norman-Irish nobles the FitzGeralds of Kildare were the most versed in the several languages of Ireland. Besides French and Irish and Latin, they used English freely in their communications with England and the Government of the Pale. The ninth Earl's library, found at Maynooth when Lord Grey took the castle in 1531, contained 112 books, a very considerable collection for these days. Of Latin there were 34, of French 36, of Irish 20, of English 22. Also a long medical treatise in Irish called *Lile na Heladhan Leighis*, a translation into Irish of Bernard of Gordon's *Lilium Medicinae*, written at Montpellier, in Latin, in 1303. The list testifies to the generous literary taste of this great house, and shows how much at home they were in the four cultivated and spoken languages of their country.[1]

The modern Irish language shows proof of contact with the French of the conquerors. A great number of words, ending in-áiste (*e.g.*, páiste, bagáiste), in -iste, in -ún (such as garsún), seem to be of French origin. So Dr. Hyde thinks, while Dr. Bergin and T. F. O'Rahilly consider that they were imported direct from English, which got them from Norman-French itself.[2]

However this may be, we certainly have in such words as garsún relics of a time when French-speaking nobles gave their commands to Irish-speaking retainers. French was too weak and too unlike in structure to affect the

[1] O'Grady : *Cat. of Irish MSS. in Brit. Mus.*, p. 154.

[2] *Gadelica*, Vol. i., Parts 1 and 4.

grammatical genius of the native language, as it did so emphatically in the case of Anglo-Saxon. But the survival of the particle puinn in Munster Irish (e.u., níl puinn Gaoluinne agam, "I haven't much Irish") attests to a rather close effect on the language-structure, for this is the French particle "point," and in Irish as in modern French had originally a negative force. There is a fascinating theory held by some scholars but not yet worked out that the well-known habit of speakers of Southern Irish of throwing the accent on to the final syllable, as in beannacht, turas, etc., is due to the Norman-French settlers, who were so numerous in Munster; but the whole question of French influence upon modern Irish has yet scarcely got beyond the stage of fascinating conjectures.

English, though it appears less on the surface than French, was the real rival of Irish in medieval Ireland. In the first century after the Conquest the English race and speech penetrated wide and deep into the country. What between the enfeoffments of the lesser tenants by the chief lords, the settlements of small freeholders and the foundation of towns, practically all the accessible and fertile lands of Meath, Leinster, E. Ulster, Munster, and even the fringes of Connacht were soon filled with an English-speaking population. The records of such widely separated urban communities as those of Cashel, Cloyne, Athenry and Ardee in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries attest the existence there of a population as English-speaking as any in Cheshire or Gloucester. Blended with them or underneath them, and receiving little notice in the records, was, of course, a large mass of Irish-speaking villeins, small freeholders and burgesses, who survived among or were indispensible to the colonists.

But this strong English element ceased after a time to predominate. From the subject class and from the still unconquered clans the Irish speech in the fourteenth century descended again into the plains and reached the town walls. The yeomen and small freeholders, the

burgesses of the English towns, as the native race reconquered the soil, steadily forsook the land and emigrated either to England or to "the Pale." The great lords of English origin stood their ground, but at the expense of accepting Irish tenants, which they did willingly, and adopting the native speech and civilisation. Nevertheless, English had a hold upon Ireland which it never lost, and even when Irish was most triumphant it has always been the second language of our country. Its strength was greatest in the walled towns; but it remained, though in lesser measure, to be the speech of certain rural areas of the south and east.

The towns of Ireland, Dublin, Drogheda, Dundalk and the rest, round the coast to Galway and Athenry, were in fact and boasted themselves to be strongholds of the English blood and speech. The purity of their blood was largely a fiction; but in heart and tongue they certainly remained true to their origins. The civic records are at first in Latin or French, later on in English and Latin, while the Gaelic language was never officially used or even recognised. The municipal records of Galway, which in the existing form begin in 1485 and are in English, contain only a few incidental Irish words connected with trade, such as "skeinghlac" (*i.e.*, a cut from the cow) and "baunlac" (a measure of cloth). Even in Athenry, a small and isolated walled town, the merchant oligarchy refused to adopt Irish officially. Thus in some deeds and wills of the Blake family of this town the language up to 1423 is Latin and after 1430 English. The statutes of Waterford are in archaic English; but this city was particularly loyal, as is attested by the long poem in English written about 1536 by Patrick Stronge, town clerk, which sums up the grants of former English kings and ends every seven lines with "qui tu intacta semper manes."

Kilkenny was an inland town, and so should have succumbed to the Hibernicisation which was the marked

feature of the fifteenth century; but, protected as it was by the pro-English Ormonds, it remained an English enclave, and in 1608 its citizens boasted that they had always preserved the English language and laws.[1]

Naturally Irish was heard in every one of these towns, probably in Dublin itself; for there was a resident Irish population which was not entirely deprived of rights, for from time to time the officials of Limerick, Waterford, Galway and other cities have obviously Irish names. Nevertheless these places remained English, and when the Tudor officials began to visit them they found spoken in them a language which they recognised as a variety of their own. The towns were the *points d'appui* from which English speech and civilisation spread again over the island, and the mixed race which dwelt in them and were acquainted well or ill with the native language were the instruments used by the new English in the Tudor reconquest.

A light on the survival of English as the common street and fireside speech of a large Anglo-Irish town is given in the story of Dame Alice le Kyteler. This woman was a native of Kilkenny, and was prosecuted by the Bishop for witchcraft and necromancy in 1325. One of the points against her was that she was wont to sweep the streets of Kilkenny between compline and curfew, driving the mire towards her son's house, and saying with conjurations :—

> "May all the welth of Kilkenny town
> Hie to the house of William my son."

The Kyteler case was one of the *causes célèbres* of medieval Ireland : the numerous and curious charges are an extraordinary comment on the superstitions of the age. Some of her accomplices were burned, others whipped,

[1] See Hist. MSS. Comm., 10th Report, App. Part v., p. 326, Statutes of the City of Waterford; *ibid.*, p. 380, Archives of Galway; O'Flaherty's *Iar Connacht*, ed. Hardiman; *Lib. Munerum*, I., pt. i., p. 21. Nat. Facsimiles, Vol. iii., plates x.-xliii

she herself disappeared. The immediate point is that her conjuration is in English, *i.e.*, the familiar tongue of the town, while we are told that the Bishop's requisition at the court of the Seneschal, that the accused should be taken and confined till the Church should judge them, was repeated thrice aloud in English and French, so that all should understand.[1] But outside the towns, that is, in the rural parts of the colony and in the great Lordships of Kildare, Desmond, Ormond and Connacht, the fortunes of the English language pursued another course. The outlying provinces became predominantly Gaelic; the nearer portion, later called "the Pale," retained a portion of its English heritage.

The further away from Dublin, the less English were the Norman houses. In 1579 MacWilliam, head of the Clanrickard Burkes, knew no English, and from the middle of the fourteenth century the western De Burgos abandoned the Saxon speech, as they did attendance at the Dublin parliament and all communication with the government. But the Desmonds and Kildares, still more the Butlers, from 1400 onwards, *i.e.*, the time when the aristocracy of England itself began to use English rather than their worn-out French, were acquainted with the common speech of the country of their origin. The FitzGeralds of Leinster were often Justiciars, and so had to deal with the English-speaking officials of Dublin and the Lancastrian kings, who made the native idiom once and for all the state language of England. They frequently intermarried with the noble families of that country. Thus Silken Thomas, though he apparently understood Irish, was the son of Elizabeth Zouche, of Codnor, Derbyshire. The letters of his father, the ninth earl, to Henry VIII. are in English. The two great rentals of the Kildare family, viz., the Red Book begun in 1503 and the Rental begun in 1518, are illustrative on the point of language. The earlier grants and deeds, which go back to 1300, are

[1] Dowling's Annals *sub anno* 1322 (Ir. Arch. Soc.); Annals of St. Mary's Abbey (Rolls Series), Vol. ii., ao. 1325.

largely indentures made with Irish chiefs and tenants; the language of these is Latin and occasionally Irish. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries they are still in Gaelic; but for all other purposes Latin is the earlier medium, English the later. We must, however, note that it was an Englishman or Anglo-Irishman, Philip Flattisbury, who drew up the Rentals from 1518 onwards.[1]

The once-English gentry and lesser nobles, however, of the land outside the Pale who fell into dependence on the great earls and contracted amicable relationships with their Gaelic neighbours, had few bonds with their mother-country, and soon became Hibernicised in fashion and speech. But there were parts of the once wide-extended colony where English survived, not as an exotic or an accomplishment, but as the common fireside idiom of a plebeian rural community. A hundred years after the conquest the Anglo-Saxon tongue had been widely diffused over all the lowland parts of the three southern provinces and east Ulster. But from about 1320 it began to disappear, partly owing to the revival of the native race, the growing Hibernicisation of the Norman lords, and the migration back to England of the small tenantry who could not endure the oppressions of the magnates. This decay evoked the constant protest of the more English and plebeian colonists in Parliament and elsewhere, and one of the few fragments of medieval Anglo-Irish verse we have, written about 1327, laments the ruin of the speech it is written in, and puts the blame on the government which favoured the great and connived at their Irish fashions.

> By graunting charters of peas
> to false English withouten leas
> this land shall be mich undoo.
> But gossipred and alterage
> and leesing of our language
> have mickly holp theretoo.[2]

[1] Hist. MSS. Comm., 1883, xxxvii., App. 9th Report; also Kilk. Arch. Soc. Journal, 1859-65.

[2] Quoted in Sir J. Davys' "Discovery of the true reasons, etc.," ed. Morley, 898, p. 298.

By 1500 English had lost most of the ground to Irish. Munster had become Hibernicised, save for the larger towns, though it had been so well planted; and Co. Waterford, which was at first largely Danish and then so colonised under the le Poers that in Elizabeth's reign it was counted "one of the most English shires of Ireland," is to-day still one of the most Irish-speaking of our counties. By the time of Henry VIII. the true area of English, apart from the towns, was confined to south Co. Wexford and that part called the "Pale"—a territory sixty miles long and thirty broad, stretching from Dundalk and Ardee to Kilcullen and the Dublin Mountains. Stanyhurst (*Description of Ireland*, 1587) says: "All the cities and towns of Ireland, with Fingall, the King's land, Meath, the counties of Kildare, Louth, Wexford speak to this day English . . . . even so in all other places their native language is Irish."

But even in this restricted area Irish was encroaching upon English. A common religious sympathy and resentment at the policy of confiscation and persecution which the Tudor governments adopted drew together the Irish and the old English, and the symbol of their unity was the Irish language. Stanyhurst says that "Irish was generally gaggled in the Pale," and Barnaby Rich tells us that "ten Englishmen would adopt Irish for the one Irishman that would adopt English habits."[1]

The situation in the parts north of Dublin and along the east coast was curiously parallel, though in reverse order, to what we see in many parts of Ireland to this day. In the hills of Armagh and the boglands of Roscommon we may still find old men speaking a poor English but retaining in a pure form the Irish language which has died out all around them. So in the sixteenth century there were old people in Fingall and Wexford who still spoke a Chaucerian English which was crumbling away, and

[1] Lynch's *Cambrensis Eversus*, Vol. i., pp. 182, 188.

stammered in an imperfect Irish which was rapidly coming in. Those were not the days of leagues formed for the purpose of reviving dying languages, but by the end of another century the activities of the government, the advent of fresh colonies and the defeat of the native party turned the tide decisively against Irish.

One strong reason for the decay of English was that the dialect imported by the first conquerors had almost lost touch with that of England. The early colonists spoke the English of Bristol and the south-western counties from which they were mainly derived, whereas by Tudor times the north-midland speech had become the generally accepted standard for all England. In Ireland the Saxon speech, mixed as it was with Irish and Flemish words, and developing on its own lines, drew further and further away from the main English tongue, so that Elizabethan officials newly arrived listened with amazement and amusement to what was represented to them as good English.

In the sixteenth century there were, apart from the towns, two areas and two only where a dialect of English was the predominant and general speech. These were, first, the district stretching from Dublin to Dundalk and Ardee and reaching inland to Trim and Maynooth; and, second, the southern parts of Co. Wexford. The former was the area generally called the Pale, and here in the early days of the Conquest numerous settlements of English had been made. In the eastern portion of this, viz., Fingall ("the land of the Danes"), stretching from Dublin to Skerries, there had been an earlier Teutonic colony, and some place-names, such as Baldoyle ("the Danes' town) and Skerries, and some surnames, such as Sigerson, Sweetman (Suatgarman), Kettle, and perhaps Segrave and Hamlet still survive as witnesses to the old Northman settlement. How far any of the Scandinavian speech survived here we cannot tell, but certainly during the medieval period and up to modern times the local dialect

was a form of English. Even in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when Irish was the common speech of most of the common people, Fingall was notable for retaining the Saxon tongue. Thus in a poem called "The Battle of the Scalp" (Bearna Croise Brighde), Sean O Neachtain, a Gaelic poet of the early eighteenth century, while he makes the Wicklow combatants speak Irish, puts English into the mouths of the Fingall men.[1]

As to the speech of southern Wexford, we have better evidence. Here the two baronies of Forth and Bargy, an area of some 80,000 acres, were the home of a very distinctive colony, brought in from S. Wales and Western England in the early days of the Norman conquest. It was a mixed population of Flemings, Welsh and English —the Flemings being especially strong; for Strongbow, FitzStephens and others of the first conquerors who came from S. Wales themselves, drew most of their fighting men from the Flemish colony which Henry I. had planted at the expense of the Welsh in Pembrokeshire, especially in the peninsula of Gower, which is still so Teutonic as to be called "little England beyond Wales."

This was the original nest from which in 1169 the first and main conquerors of Ireland took wing. "There were three and a half hundreds," says the author of *A Description of Pembrokeshire* (1603), "viz., the Rowse, Castlemartyn, Narberth and half of Dongledy which were planted with Normans, Flemish and Welsh, and their posterity remain there to this day and speak English." Mixed with colonists from the southern shires of England, the immigrants from Pembroke planted in Ireland by Strongbow and his successors the Marshalls formed a separate and distinctive community, and the isolated character of the baronies cut off by rivers and mountains from the rest of Leinster allowed them to remain English when the rest of the English colonies had become hibernicised. There is still a preponderance of Flemish, French

[1] Cath na Bearna, Egerton MS. 165, Brit. Mus.

and English names in this district, such as Fleming, Roche, Sherlock, Hay, Rossiter, Synnot, Cheevers, Prendergast, the majority of which have been traced to their original source in Pembrokeshire.[1]

The peculiar speech of the baronies of Forth and Bargy lingered on till about 1860, and is now, save for a few words, extinct. It has been the subject of much conjecture, learned and unlearned, and has often been described as a mainly Flemish speech. But there can be no doubt that it was simply an early form of English derived from the western and south-western counties of England, from which Dublin, the towns and large parts of the colony were generally populated. Not even in Pembroke did the Flemish survive, and in Ireland, as was natural, the predominant tongue of English would absorb whatever Flemish, Welsh and other dialects might for a while obtain. Specimens of this Wexford speech can be seen in Jacob Poole's *Dialect of Forth and Bargy*—it was still alive when Poole died in 1827; and Barnes, the Dorsetshire poet who edited the book, claims that it was mere western English, and would have been readily understood in his own county where, as in Wexford, they turned the *s* into *z* and the *f* into *v*. Of the 1,200 words which Poole collected, about 40 appear to be pure Gaelic; but the Irish influence is slight.

This was the kind of English which, long isolated from the mother speech, strangely puzzled the Tudor officials and soldiers who brought with them that new midland English of London and the Court which was destined to become the language in time of all Ireland. Stanyhurst tells an amusing story bearing on this point:—"There was of late days one of the peers of England sent to Wexford as commissioner . . . and hearing in affable wise the rude complaints of the country clowns, he conceived here and there sometimes a word other-whiles a

[1] George Owen, Lord of Kemes: *Description of Pembrokeshire* (1603), ed. H. Owen, 1892, p. 38; article by Hore in *Arch. Cambrensis*, N.S., 3, 1852.

whole sentence. The nobleman, being very glad that upon his first coming to Ireland he understood so many words, told one of his followers that he stood in good hope to become shortly a well-spoken man in the Irish, supposing that the blunt people had prattled Irish all the while they had jangled English."

A curious backwash of fate swept many of these Flemish-English settlers oversea again to their original home. During and after the Desmond and Tyrone wars great numbers of the Anglo-Irish of Leinster abandoned their unhappy country and settled in swarms about Milford Haven, Haverfordwest and in Pembrokeshire generally. But with their separate religion, their peculiar habits, and even their strange English they found themselves no longer at home in the place of their ancestors. The *Description of Pembrokeshire* says: "As for the Irishmen, they are so powdered among the inhabitants of Rowse and Castlemartyn that in every village you shall find the third, fourth, or fifth householder an Irishman, and now of late they swarm more than in tymes past by reason of these late wars; these for the most part speak the English tongue . . . . as many as come out of the county say that they understand no Irishe . . . neither doth anye well understand his [their] English."

Lewis, writing a century later on the same county, records the disappearance or absorption of these migrants: "The county [of Pembroke] has got rid of its Hibernian swarm, but they have left behind them a pernicious taste for strong liquors in preference to the only beverage calculated for a British constitution—ale."[1]

It is highly probable that, had the Tudor plantations not taken place, the Irish language would have become the general speech of all Ireland; for the old English themselves were greatly attracted by it. Much as the Wexford folk boasted of their English blood and speech, their common parlance lost much of its purity. "In our

[1] Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, p. 40.

days," says Stanyhurst, " they have so acquainted themselves with the Irish as that they have made a mingle mangle or gallimaufreie of both the languages, as commonly the inhabitants of the meaner sort speake neither good English nor good Irish."

As a written even more signally than as a spoken language, English failed to take deep root and flourish in this country between 1200 and 1500. No single considerable piece of prose or verse came out of the English colony.[1] The annals are all in Latin, French or Irish ; but at the end of the period (about 1550) the book of Howth, based on Cambrensis and a Latin book once in the hands of the O'Neills, was produced in English. This is a real *chanson de geste,* full of vigour and feeling, and heralds the true beginnings of a great English prose in Ireland.

The true victor in the clash of languages was the native Gaelic. In 1250 it was only one of the several languages of the country ; by 1500 it was almost without a rival in literary cultivation, in the extent over which it was spoken, in the attraction it had even for the colonists. It had swallowed up French, and seemed about to make a final conquest of English. In the lands where the Norman lords ruled over a mixed population its revival came soon, and though it took longer to penetrate the more thickly planted areas, and longest of all the towns, its inherent vigour carried it into all the former strongholds of English. For as a living speech it had every advantage over the decaying English idiom, and as a medium of culture it appealed to the Norman-Irish lords, the patrons of literature, and to the learned class afterwards represented by Keating. It was, in short, the one language in Ireland which in the wealth of its vocabulary and the inspiration of its poets and scholars was ever expanding and throwing out fresh buds.

[1] There are odd pieces, such as a poem on Sir Piers de Bermingham (*d.* 1308), a satirical poem of Friar Michael of Kildare on the Dominicans, an English version of the *Secreta Secretorum* by James Yonge, *circa* 1420. (Facs. Nat. MSS., iii., pl. iv. v., iii., xxxvi.), and verses on the " Pride of Life " in the Account Roll of Holy Trinity, Dublin.

The triumph of the native language was accelerated by the supremacy of the Geraldines (1460-1530), by a long period of self-government and native culture, and was confirmed later when the iniquities of the Tudor reconquest made the native Irish language the symbol of a nationalism dear to all the people of Ireland.

The Norman-Irish lords naturally were soon familiar with the language which they heard around them from childhood. When the Irish kings visited Richard II. in Dublin in 1394, the Earl of Ormond, though he was the most English of the magnates, interpreted the King's speech to them. The Fitzgeralds themselves had a vein of poetry; the first Earl of Kildare, who died in 1316, was remembered in the sixteenth century as a Gaelic poet; Gerald, the fourth Earl of Desmond, who died in 1398, has attributed to him some verses "on womankind"; and his successor, Thomas, is credited with an extant Irish poem.[1] Other Norman-Irish gentlemen, even in the Pale, wrote exquisite verses duly preserved by the poets and copyists of the native race; nor were these mere literary *tours de force*, for by 1400 Gaelic was the language which came most instinctively and affectionately to the lips of the old-English. It was not till the settler renounced his English speech that the Gaels would take him to themselves. The Four Masters record that in 1372 William son of Ulick de Burgo died, "chiefest of the Burkes for polite manners," a way of saying that he was a lover of the Irish language and culture. So far had the hibernicising of the once-Norman conquerors and their English tenants gone by Tudor times that in the Dublin parliament which made Henry VIII. King of Ireland the Earl of Ormond had to translate the Speaker's address into Irish for the benefit of Lords and Commons, though these were mainly of old English origin.[2]

[1] See *Earls of Kildare*, p. 28; Dr. Sigerson's *Bards of the Gael and Gall* for a verse translation of the 4th Earl of Desmond's verses, p. 224, and other Irish poems of the old English; Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy*, I., p. 365 for Earl Thomas.

[2] Philip Wilson: *Beginnings of Modern Ireland*, p. 247.

The native cause had always been identical in the minds of the Gaelic race with the Irish language, and ignorance of it had always been a stumbling block to the would-be rulers of Ireland. This was especially reflected in the constant struggle of the native prelates and lower clergy against the Frenchmen and Englishmen whom the King and the Pope thrust into Irish sees. In 1224 Marianus Scotus, Archbishop of Cashel, had to resign because he was ignorant of the native language, and in 1285 the Dublin officials advised the King that no Irishman should ever become archbishop or bishop because they preach against the King and fill benefices with Irishmen, so that an election of bishops may be made to maintain their language. The mendicant orders especially favoured the native speech; in 1229 the Bishop of Kildare, an Englishman, fulminates against "certain fanatics who spread in the Irish language the seeds of rebellion"; and when in the Bruce invasion the native race made its most desperate effort up to that time to throw off the English yoke, the Franciscans were foremost in upholding the national cause, so that a papal mandate was in November, 1317, directed to the Irish archbishops bidding them in the royal interest order "friars preachers and other mendicants to desist from stirring up the people of Ireland to resist the King's authority."[1]

In the parliament of 1366, in which the famous Statutes of Kilkenny were passed, the use of the Irish language was forbidden to the English of Munster and Leinster. But this provision failed so signally that in 1495 Poyning's parliament repealed it, so admitting the complete triumph of the native tongue, even in the English Pale. This return of Irish into the eastern province continued unto our own times; the counties of Louth, Meath and Dublin were up to sixty years ago largely Irish-speaking, and as

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For M. Scotus see Theiner's *Vet. Mon. Hib.*, p. 23 (1224); Cal. Doctr., iii., p. 10 (1285) and iv., p. 329 (1299); Reg. Papal Letters (1305-1342), pp. 127-128, 148.

late as 1908 there were old men about Slane, only twenty-eight miles from the capital, who still spoke Irish.[1]

The towns were the last to give way to the floodtide of the native language. The ruling classes in these had always boasted of their English blood and affections; whatever literature was produced in English was written within their walls; and they spoke of the people about them as the "Irish enemy." But the break in religion and their trading intercourse with Spain alienated them from their ancestral country; their relations with the Irish became more human, and they felt the general resentment against the confiscations and wars by which the old Norman houses were ruined. So when the Elizabethan officials and the like began to visit the Irish towns they found to their astonishment that the high dignitaries of English descent who received them with little good will were obstinate papists, preferring the Irish language to the English, attached to Irish dress and habits, and giving little token of their ancient nationality. Tudor travellers in Ireland were greatly struck with the extent and recent spread of Irish in the Pale and the towns. Fynes Moryson, whose *Commonwealth of Ireland* was written at the beginning of James I.'s reign, found that the English-descended townsmen of Ireland had both Irish tongues and Spanish hearts: "The English-Irish and the very citizens, excepting those of Dublin where the Lord Deputy resides, though they could speak English as well as we, yet commonly speak Irish among themselves, and were hardly induced by our familiar conversation to speak English with us." He observed the citizens of Waterford and Cork, having wives that could speak English, "chide them bitterly when they speak English with us." Also the townspeople of Waterford were "degenerated from English to Irish, or rather to Spanish, and were no less alienated from the English than the very

[1] J. J. Lloyd: *Duanaire na Midhe* (1908).

mere Irish, as in one particular case of their community of language with the Irish."

The contempt and enmity which the Tudor and Stuart officials and settlers openly displayed for the native language roused men to defend and praise it who came from the original English stock themselves. Among such literary champions of the Gaelic culture the foremost were Keating and Lynch. The latter, author of that long and spirited vindication of Ireland, *Cambrensis Eversus*, in repelling the charge that Irish was a seditious language, says that "it has no peculiar aptitude for treasonable machinations," and as a cultured and vigorous tongue he puts it with its combined excellencies above all living languages. "It surpasses," he says, "in gravity the Spanish, in elegance the Italian, in colloquial charm the French, and equals, if it does not surpass, the German itself in inspiring terror."

But such whole-hearted eulogies of the native language, which had won triumph upon triumph against the imported speech of Norseman, Frenchman and Saxon up to this time, were in reality but its funeral dirge; for at the very moment its decline had begun and was to continue for three centuries, till in our own day it has completely vanished from the greater part of our country.

E. Curtis.

UNPUBLISHED IRISH POEMS.

VI.—On a Peace Conference in 1603.

EDITED BY PROFESSOR OSBORN BERGIN, PH.D.

After the defeat at Kinsale, Rury O'Donnell had been left in command of his brother's forces. He retreated northwards and carried on the war for some months, until the news of Hugh's death in Spain induced him to surrender. This poem was written while he was in Dublin in 1603.

The author was Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird (Red Owen Mac Ward), "O'Donnell's professor in chief of poetry." It is not a favourable sample of his style, for much of it is couched in the studiously vague language of diplomacy. Apparently he disapproved of the surrender and the negotiations which followed it. He is careful to call his patron "O'Donnell's son," not "O'Donnell," for Rury never became chief of his clan; from Dublin he crossed over to London, and returned as Earl of Tyrconnell.

The two supplementary quatrains are in honour of Rury's sister Nuala. She had married her cousin Niall Garv, but left him when he deserted to the English side in 1600. Later on she accompanied her brothers in their flight to the continent, and when they died in Rome in 1608, Mac Ward addressed to her his best known poem, familiar to English readers from Mangan's translation, or rather adaptation, beginning "O Woman of the piercing wail."

I give the text of 24 P. 27 (P) in the Royal Irish Academy, with the important variants from the version of the O'Conor Don's Book (C). Other copies I have seen are derived from one or other of these. In some cases the variants convey just the opposite sense. The supplementary quatrains are in C only.

Osborn Bergin.

Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird cc.

1. Dána an turas trialltar sonn,
fada atá ag tocht[1] 'na thiomcholl,
geall re hoighidh an eachtra,
doiligh earr na huaisleachta.

2. Le[2] leathtrom cogaidh Chráoi Fhloinn[3]
do mealladh mac Uí Dhomhnoill,
ag[4] triall ré haigneadh n-anba
i ccaidreabh fhían n-eachtranda.

[1] teacht C. [2] Re C. [3] floinn P, bfloinn C. [4] gur C

3. Dána an chúis do chuir roimhe,
gá ttám acht tug Rudhroighe[1]
aighidh ar an lucht ros ling,
lér airigh d'ulc 'na oirchill.

4. Deacair aghaidh orra soin,
iomdha ar a cheann cúis bháoghail,
lucht crúadhaighthe caingneadh[2] réidh,
grúamaighthe airrdhean[3] n-aigmhéil.

5. Atáid re a ucht a n-Ath Clíath
óig ar[4] ar himreadh mídhíach,
mór ngoimhfhéchsin ré[5] a ghnúis ngloin,
cúis roidhéisdin a rochtoin.

6. Iomdha cúis imnidh aca,
iomdha mairg mhná deórata,
iomdha leacht as a lossoin,
diongna a theacht ón turus-soin.

7. Na róid ina roicheadh soin
go ttrásda a ttreallmhaibh cogaidh,
taidlidh go síothchánna[6] sonn
fíochnámha aingidh eachtronn.

8. Taisbéntor sunn seal oile
gnúis úathmhar na hamhsoine
'na dreich[7] raighil sháordha sháimh,
'na haighidh mháordha mhacáimh.

9. Gibé an tráth sa theagmhas dó,
iomdha foireann fúair annró,
do tháirthéghadh a thocht sin
ag fáithléghadh olc idir.

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[1] Rughroidhe MSS.
[2] chaingean P.
[3] airgeadh C.
[4] air P.
[5] ar P.
[6] =síothchánda ; sithchána C, síothchánta P.
[7] dhreich P.

10. Atáid, narab díth dhosan,
croidhe a chomthach foghlasan
ag léim d'orghráin na heachtra,
budh[1] céim d'foghbháil aigeanta.

11. Iomdha ag úaislibh Innsi Breagh,
ag mnáibh, ag macoibh fileadh,
ré léghadh leóin as a los,
meóir dá ttéghadh fan turos.

12. Gidh eadh measuid óig Eamhna,
do dhruim toice a ttighearna,
an turussa fa ttéigh mé,
'na chéim[2] urusa aige.

13. Foghla gráineamhla an ghille
ní chuimhnigh cath Duibhlinne,
lé fonn a síothoighthe soin
fa fhonn bfíochfhoirbhthe bFionntoin.[3]

14. A ndearna orra, as é a shuim,
maithtear do mhac Uí Dhomhnaill,
gur thaiséntor tocht 'na cceann,
aisécthar olc na hEireann.[4]

15. Tugadh leó a bfíoch a bformad,
ar rún ceannsa ar cháonchomhrag,
fúath a-roile, a rún cogaidh,
ar rún toile tugadair.

16. Tiad gnúisi giolladh[5] ndorrdha
reimhe a reachtoibh searcamhla,
meanma goimheamhla Gall ndúr
le a bharr soidhealbhdha[6] ag síothlúdh.

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[1] ní C. [2] nach ceim C. [3] fíoch. Fionntoin P.
[4] ní aiseghtar olc eireann C. [5] Téid gnuis giolla P.
[6] le barr soimheanma C.

17. Móide a rofháilte roimhe
go bfúair síad síodh Rudhraighe,
an gartoirear far ghlé Conn,
nar[1] haltoigheadh é ag eachtronn.

18. On tráth fa ttáinig 'na cceann
fear ionaidh airdríogh Eireann,
brígh 'na ccéimiondaibh ní chuir,
sídh Eirionnaigh ní híarthuir.

19. Leis an ngealladh gealltar lais,
lé humhla meic meic Maghnais,
do reactha rún gacha fir,
do feactha glún gach Gáoidhil.

20. Faigsin codhnaigh Chlann Dálaigh
i nAth Clíath a ccomhdhálaibh
dáil cháomhanta do chrích Ghall,
aonshompla síth na sáorchlann.

21. Gibé tráth tí 'na fhrithing,
mór ccúis n-égnaigh[2] d'oirichill
ag Rudhraighe, ga dulc dhó ?
le a lucht furnaidhe is fado.
Dana.

22. Mór ríoghan um Ráith Logha
tarla do nós Núaladha
fan ccéim do-chluinsi[3] 'na ceann
a bpéin tuirsi 'na timcheall.

23. Fúaras lé a los a shiobhail,[4]
ó's doilghe na déidhionaigh,
nach smúain an t-imneadh oilc
fúair inghean ar nAodhaine.
Dana.

[1] na C. [2] egnaigh P [3] do chluinsin C. [4] shiúbhail C.

Translation.

1. Bold is the journey attempted here; long has it been debated. The expedition is equal to a tragic fate: hard is the end of nobility.
2. By the hard fortune of the war of Flann's Fold[1] O'Donnell's son has been beguiled, travelling with high spirit in the company of outland soldiery.
3. Bold is the cause he has set before him: in brief, for the greatness of the evil that he saw awaiting him, Rury has turned to the people who had defeated him.
4. Hard is it to face them: many is the risk before him; men who harden easy covenants, gloomy faces with dangerous attributes.
5. There are ready for him in Dublin warriors on whom misfortune has been inflicted; many a painful glance at his bright face; to reach them is occasion for great loathing.
6. Many a cause of anxiety they had, many a foreign wife's lamentation, many a tombstone due to him—'tis a marvel if he come back from that journey!
7. The roads whereon he was hitherto wont to go in warlike array, he now peacefully visits—he, the fierce and ruthless enemy of the foreigners.
8. Here once more the grim visage of the soldiery is shown as a countenance bright, generous and mild, a gentle, youthful face.
9. Whatever befalls him at this time, many is the host that suffered hardship, whom his coming was wont to kindle with shame, as they read the signs of coming disasters.
10. The hearts of his comrades on the foray—may this be no detriment to him—are leaping with horror at the expedition: it will be[2] a step to win courage.
11. Among the nobles of the Isle of Brega, among women and sons of poets, many are the fingers that grow hot[3] by reason of this journey, while they read of grief to follow it.
12. Yet because of their lord's fortune the warriors of Eamhain deem this journey, whereat I grow hot, to be an easy step for him.
13. As for the youth's dreadful forays, the army of Dublin remembers them not for their longing to be at peace throughout Fintan's Land,[1] old in wrath.
14. For all that he has done to them, in short, O'Donnell's son is pardoned; until opposition is shown to them, Ireland's wrong will be repaid (?).
15. They have changed their anger and envy to a resolution of gentleness and peace, their mutual hatred and warlike purpose to love.
16. The faces of grim warriors turn to loving forms before him, the cruel hearts of stern Englishmen melt at the sight of his comely hair.
17. The greater is their welcome to him that Rury has made peace with them, that the hospitable region where Conn was made famous has not been . . by a foreigner.
18. Since the deputy of Ireland's king came to them, he sets no store by their doings, peace is sought with no Irishman.[4]
19. By the pledge that he gives, by the homage of the grandson of Manus, every man's devotion used to be sold, every Gael's knee used to be bent.
20. The sight of the chief of Dálach's[5] descendants at conventions in Dublin is a decree of protection to the English territory, the very model of peace with the nobles.
21. Whenever he shall return—how does it hurt Rury to guard against many a ground of complaint?—to those who are waiting for him the time seems long.
22. There is many a princess throughout Lugh's Fortress[6] who, like Nualaidh, with reference to this step she hears approaching, are in pain and sorrow round about her.
23. I have found when with her that because of his journey—since the latest things are hardest to bear—our Hugh's daughter has no thought for any other care she has suffered.

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[1] A bardic name for Ireland.

[2] "is not" C.

[3] A reference to the clapping of hands in token of grief.

[4] The meaning of this and the following quatrain seems to be that, once the O'Donnells have yielded, the surrender of the rest of Ireland may be taken for granted.

[5] Dálach, grandfather of Domhnall Mór, *a quo* O'Donnell.

[6] A bardic name for Ireland.

THE PERFECT CHOICE.

LET not my soul for spiritual delight,
Turned huckster, seek her joys to buy and sell;
Trafficking in the gates of heaven and hell,
Bargain for mercy; in her ledger write
Her hope of bliss. Rather in lonely night
I would she keep her cloister and her cell,
Her long hours measured by the regular bell,
Her fasts and vigils as an anchorite.

Oh, let her not for any personal fear
Of temporal loss, or of unending fire,
Struggle to gain among the just her place:
Not for the marvellous city, tier on tier—
But with the simple ardour of desire
The beatific vision of Thy face.

THEODORE MAYNARD.

TO TIME.

O'ER-FREIGHTED with the sand whose grains are years,
Thy wide-spread pinions wet with Lethean dew,
Thou glidest among glades sown thick with yew,
Bearing forgetfulness to staunch the tears
Of sorrow-mated man; but when the spears
Of memory pierce my heart, thy cooling wings
Ne'er fan my brow, nor drop the balm which clings
To their swart plumes upon the wound that sears.
Frail new-born joys, snatched from my straining arms,
Die in thy grasp, as poppy petals swoon
By eager fingers plucked: while stealthily
Thou linger'st long at midnight 'neath the moon,
Brewing from magic herbs Medean charms—
To dower my griefs with immortality.

K. M. MURPHY.

IN THE SHADOW OF THE SPHINX.

DARK lighthouse of this tideless sea of sand,
Rendering but deeper Egypt's mystery,
Would I were Œdipus to guess what grand
Theme makes the subject of thy reverie;
Here at thy crouchèd buried feet I rest,
While the red desert flame fades out in grey,
And thy majestic form with darkness drest
Reigns sovereign o'er the night as o'er the day:
Whence comes thy grandeur, thing without a soul?
Thou shamest the trembling flesh here at thy feet,
That shrinking views life's desert drear unroll,
And lacks thy stoic calm its blank to meet;
But happily there is none save night and thee
To mark this contrast, Sphinx, 'twixt thee and me.

ETHNA KAVANAGH.

WORLD FEARS.

WHEN I regard Earth's prizes and her fee
For willing service, note how small and great
Barter their honour at full easy rate
In crowded marts, and when, alas, I see
That many a sovereign soul, unbowed and free,
Though victim of the World's extremest hate,
Knows for Circean cozenage too late
The soft caress of her fell sorcery;
Then I much fear her touch, her glance, her mood
Of tender dalliance, as with amorous wile
Masking her purposed ill beneath a smile,
She winds about the soul her bare arms rude;
For when with frowns she may not work her will,
Fair-seeming ways she hath and gracious skill.

JOHN BUNKER.

FINN ASLEEP.

FINN lies slumb'ring soundly, with all his hosts around,
Deep within the caves of Donegal,
Dreaming of his battles, his stag-hunts and his hound,
Of glens and hills that thundered to his call.
Eastward roll the mountains, and southward spread the plains,
The breath of olden Banba over all;
But the wolf-dog's baying, and the war-trump's braying
No longer rouse the echoes of the vales of Donegal.

"Wake me when ye want me," he said, and went to rest
Where wild-waves cream the coast of Donegal;
But time spun truth to legend, as time spins all that's best,
And men forgot where Finn was at their call.
Hither came the Normans, as here had come the Norse,
And Banba soon grew tearful in her thrall;
Yet the Chief lay sleeping, with his country weeping,
For no man came to wake him from his dreams in Donegal.

Later in the ages, a thousand years or more,
Schoolboys in the caves of Donegal,
Scenting high adventure, bend them to explore
The caverns where the darkest shadows fall;
And holding fast their torches, and holding hard their breath,
They leave behind the breakers' ceaseless brawl,
Till 'mid spears red-rusted and on shields gem-crusted
They find the sleeping legion in their cave in Donegal.

Old seanachies had told them the Fenians and their chief
Slumbered in some cave in Donegal:
Little heed they gave them; but sight compelled belief,
For kilted giants these were one and all.

Here they lay in columns, and here they lay in rows,
And in the midst a warrior wondrous tall,
With his red cloak fastened by a brooch of jacinth
Above his saffron tunic and his long beard's silver fall.

"Finn, lads! Let's awake him," the boldest softly said,
"What joy to see the Chieftain seaward crawl;
And brave old Finn," he whispers, his flickering light o'erhead,
"Kept all his anger for the viking Gall."
So raising slow a spear-haft they plant it on his side:
He stirs in sleep and asks in thundering drawl
Just to feel a finger of the men that linger
On the golden land of Banba spreading south from Donegal.

Slowly then the spear-head they drag unto his grasp,
Red with rust but hardest steel withal,
Wherein he sinks his fingers, as if they did but clasp
Richest cheese from grey-glenned Donegal.
Then, "Sleep, my braves," he murmurs, "sleep may yet be ours"
(His eyes still screened in slumber's dream-lined pall);
"For with hands like these ones, it is clear no treasons
Can enslave our own fair Banba sweeping south from Donegal."

So Finn still slumbers soundly, with all his hosts around,
Deep within the caves of Donegal,
Dreaming of his battles, his stag-hunts and his hound,
Of glens and hills that thundered to his call.
Eastward roll the mountains, and southward sweep the plains,
The breath of olden Banba over all;
But the wolf-dog's baying, and the war-trump's braying,
No longer rouse the echoes of the vales of Donegal.

J. B. Thompson.

ERNST WINDISCH, 1844-1918.

BY ELEANOR KNOTT.

ALL who take a genuine interest in the progress of Irish studies must feel that the memory of Professor Ernst Windisch, whose death took place last October at Leipzig, deserves a tribute in Ireland, in respect of his magnificent pioneer work in Irish scholarship. Stokes, O'Grady and Windisch, that great triad of later nineteenth century Irish scholars, the men who caught the torch from the hands of Zeuss, O'Curry and O'Donovan, and handed it on, undimmed, to the present generation—the last, and in some respects the greatest of them, has now passed away, full of years and such honour as is heartily accorded by all his fellow-workers and followers to a life of earnest and conscientious endeavour in scientific scholarship, unstained by undignified polemic in any field of controversy.

Windisch was born in 1844, at Dresden, and educated first at the Kreuzschule in that city, whence he proceeded to Leipzig university. At the university he studied classical and comparative philology, and came under the influence of Hermann Brockhaus, from whom he received his first impetus towards Celtic studies. Having completed his course in 1867, he took the post of master at the Thomas School, Leipzig. In 1870 he was enabled, partly through the instrumentality of Brockhaus, to visit London, where, like many other German Orientalists, he found employment at the India Office on the catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. When he was leaving for England Brockhaus had recommended him to direct his

attention to the Ossianic controversy. Following this suggestion, he made the acquaintance and gained the lasting friendship of Standish Hayes O'Grady, whose help in his studies he acknowledges most cordially in the preface to the first volume of his *Irische Texte.* The following year he spent some time in Dublin, and to another friendship made at this period he refers with feeling in the foreword to Whitley Stokes's posthumous edition of *Cath Cathardha* : " Ich habe Whitley Stokes im Jahre 1871 in seines Vaters Hause in Dublin persönlich kennen gelernt. Seit dem hat die Freundschaft mit ihm zum Glücke meines Lebens gehört (I made the acquaintance of Whitley Stokes in the year 1871 at his father's house in Dublin, since then the friendship with him has been a part of my life's happiness)."

In October, 1871, he was appointed extraordinary professor at Leipzig, in 1872 ordinary professor of comparative philology at Heidelberg, and in 1875 he was summoned to the same chair at Strassburg, where he held an Irish course in the same year. In 1877 he returned to Leipzig as ordinary professor of Sanskrit, a position which he held until his death. The end was peaceful, and he was at work till the last. The day before his death he spent in correcting the proofs of his History of Sanskrit Philology. His contributions to Sanskrit study and to Indoeuropean philology gained him wide distinction ; but what is of special interest to us at present is his remarkable contribution to Irish scholarship. What Zeuss did for Old Irish, Windisch did for the in some ways more complicated subject of Middle Irish. Zeuss, with a zeal and patience which remain an inspiration to all genuine students, deciphered the old Irish glosses, and, in his famous *Grammatica Celtica,* laid the foundations of an exact study of Old Irish. Windisch, by a painstaking study of all available Irish documents, laid in the first volume of his *Irische Texte* the foundations of a strictly scientific study of the language in which the sagas and

earlier poems are written.[1] His texts are carefully transcribed, and are accompanied by a critical apparatus which safeguards the student in case of uncertain lections. The glossary—still indispensable to every student of Middle Irish—is an amazing monument of industry and genius. He himself confessed that it was a troublesome task; that even whilst it was going through the press he endeavoured to reduce the number of queries which conscientious scholarship constrained him to place after words when their meaning was not yet determinable beyond doubt.

The series inaugurated by this volume he continued in collaboration with Whitley Stokes. The fourth and last volume consisted of Stokes's editions of *Acallamh na Senórach* and *Cath Cathardha.*

Windisch had a high opinion of the historic value of Irish saga: "Irland darf stolz sein auf seine alte Heldensage" (Ireland can be proud of her old heroic saga) he writes of *Táin Bó Cualnge*; and in the preface to *Irische Texte*, 1, he points out the importance of the Irish sagas as a rich, abundant source of undefiled Celticity (Celtenthum): "Welche fülle von interessanten Zügen hat O'Curry in seinen Lectures aus dieser Quelle geschöpft, ohne sie zu erschöpfen!" (what an abundance of interesting traits has O'Curry in his Lectures drawn from this source, without exhausting it!).[2]

A full list of Windisch's works on Irish will, of course, be found in Best's *Bibliography*, but it would be unfitting

[1] O'Curry's work in this field cannot, in some respects, be over-rated. Windisch himself obviously found it of value; but the German scholar's work has more exactitude and caution. These qualities had not much chance of flourishing in the atmosphere in which the great native scholar worked. Windisch remarks, more in sorrow than in anger: Die einheimischen Gelehrten haben ohne Anstoss Alles übersetzt, als wenn Schwierigkeiten gar nicht vorhanden wären (The native scholars have translated everything fluently, as though there were no difficulties at all).

[2] Some interesting letters of Windisch, in which he expresses surprise at the lack of native scholars to carry on the work of editing and translating Irish texts, will be found in the *Life of Sir John Gilbert*, by Lady Gilbert.

to close this notice without a reference to his magnificent edition of *Táin Bó Cualnge*, the national epic of Ireland. The text is that of the Book of Leinster, with variants from the more important of the other MSS.; there is a glossary of the rarer words, a German translation, and critical preface. The whole book, despite many points in which those equipped by the results of later investigation may find matter for criticism, is a monument of brilliant scholarship. It may be rather humiliating to patriotic pride that such an edition of the national epic should not have been produced in Ireland by native scholarship; but it is indubitably true that the circumstances which prevented such a desirable consummation were, humanly speaking, inevitable. They need not be discussed here, of course; but they were not by any means entirely political. It may also console some of those who look at the matter from this point of view to reflect that Windisch began his Irish studies under the direction of a great Irish scholar and native speaker of the language—Standish Hayes O'Grady. Others may derive consolation from the fact that our native monuments are of sufficient importance beyond the shores of Ireland to merit the years, the industry, and the acumen devoted to them by such a distinguished scholar as Ernst Windisch.

E. K.

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION—AMERICAN OR GERMAN?

BY PROFESSOR T. CORCORAN, S.J., D.LITT.

EXCEPT in Ireland, much has been done, even during the past four years, towards securing for the whole body of each civilised people a fuller and more prolonged education. Attention has mainly been fixed on the duration of instruction. A primary period, extending to fourteen years of age complete, is no longer sufficient. A continuation course, three or four years in length, is now held to be its indispensable sequel. But the problem of the aim and type of this new education is a subtler one. A century ago in England, Ireland, and France it was a maxim of the governing classes that whatever education they are forced to give the people should not tend to elevate them. Workers of any grade must be educated to be efficient in that grade, and to remain in it. A narrow ladder leading out of that area may be tolerated: a broad highway would mean a social revolution.[1]

Within the past ten years the same subtle problem has been raised in an acute form in the field of continua-

[1] Giddy, President of the Royal Society and a great patron of science, expressed thus his views in Parliament (1807):—"However specious the project might be of giving education to the labouring classes of the poor, it would in effect be found to be prejudicial to their morals and happiness; it would teach them to despise their lot in life, instead of making them good servants in agriculture and other laborious employments to which their rank in society had destined them; instead of teaching them subordination, it would render them factious and refractory, as was evident in the manufacturing counties; it would enable them to read seditious pamphlets, vicious books, and publications against Christianity; it would render them insolent to their superiors; and in a few years the result would be that legislature would find it necessary to direct the strong arm of power towards them and to furnish the executive magistrate with much more vigorous laws than were now in force."—(Hansard, ix., p. 798).

tion schoolwork and of technical education, both in Germany and in America. That field, says one party in the controversy, is a broad and serviceable one, and the people should be educated to fruitful action in and through it. The other side allege that the type and aim of such education are so devised that workers cannot advance: the broad and serviceable field has a high wall built round it. In Germany and in America the controversy has but begun: anything beyond a statement of the issues is not attempted in this article. But these issues are of capital importance in Ireland to-day. We have held to the truth for more than two centuries, that the finest intellectual tilth of the country, the talents of the children of all our people, must get an adequate opportunity for advancement through education. We hold instinctively that the poor man's child has still the equal rights of the free clan-folk, though deprived of their use by the Cromwellian ascendancy of landlordism and officialism. Hence the demand and the effort, especially through secondary education, for the "educational ladder," a ladder that must in a self-governed Ireland be converted into a broad highway. The danger is that there can be a modern education, apparently democratic, even markedly effective, and yet by aim and result restrictive in its tendencies.

The charge that this is the result of certain plans for continuation schools and technical instruction has been made by American educators, both American and German by race, against such German educators as Kerschensteiner of Munich, and his followers in Saxony and in Prussia. A whole literature on Kerschensteiner's work and doctrines has sprung up in England under the inspiration of such men as Lord Haldane and Dr. Michael Sadler; and his views are amply expressed in the clauses of Mr. Fisher's Education Bill for England. Even that slight measure of advance in education was opposed, on capitalist principles, by the plutocracy of the cities and the countryside; yet their opposition does not make it

certain that the doctrine they oppose is thoroughly sound. For fairness it will be well to state the main doctrine in Kerschensteiner's own words :—

> We distinguish three groups of schools, according to the grade of training to which they aspire. German industry and trade require, precisely like the German army, a number of intellectual and highly-trained officers, a number of well-trained non-commissioned officers and an army of efficient soldiers.
>
> The group of technical officers is almost exclusively recruited from the German technical colleges. These institutions are open *only* to students who have passed through the nine classes of the secondary schools. They educate the technical leaders of industry, and also the state and municipal officials who deal with technical problems.

The same specific and exclusive kind of aim is found in all the grades of technical education—and the grades are many and sharply divided—down to the lowest grade, that of the new-type continuation schools which to the English mind represent the ideal advance, and which are most closely associated with Dr. Kerschensteiner's name. He devised these about 1900, expressly to deal with the unskilled and casual labour of Munich, which fed a large loafer class. The older continuation schools, voluntary in principle and giving a general education on the lines of the primary course ending at fourteen, were swept away. General education was banned. The young unskilled workers in any one industry—young chimney-sweeps—for example were brought together in one school exclusively for chimney sweeps.

> Where possible, *e.g.*, in all larger cities and in agricultural communities, pupils of both sexes are to be gathered together *according to pursuits*, and to be led on *through the trade instruction* to intellectual, moral, and social education.

On the Kerschensteiner plan, each of the thirty-six unskilled industries of Munich has thus *its own school* for young people fourteen to eighteen years of age, where the instruction is compulsory ; and in all branches, even in civics, history, geography, arithmetic, it is concentrated

on and in the specific industry of the scholars. There is no doubt that the system is efficient; it has a specific aim, and it reaches the mark. The lad who completes his primary education at fourteen years of age, and going out into the lowest grade of industrial pursuits becomes, say, a shop messenger-boy, is then taken in hand by the compulsory continuation system and thoroughly trained—during four years of combined industrial life and school life—to be an efficient shop messenger-boy. He is well provided for in this specific direction; and his continuation classes are fixed by law to be held within the working day, ending not later than 7 p.m. This concentration of education, after the full primary course, "directly on the industrial life of the boy," is carried down into all branches of the programme. "We extend education," writes Dr. Kerschensteiner, "in such a way as to handle the problems of the boy's industrial life as directly and as fully as possible; so as to deepen, widen, and ennoble it; and thus produce efficiency and delight in work."

It is noteworthy, too, that the specified aim of these "Monotechnical Schools" results from a definite judgment of Dr. Kerschensteiner and his followers as to the limitations of the full primary school curriculum and of even well-organised apprenticeship. Though it is absolutely compulsory for all scholars up to fourteen years of age complete, they hold that the primary course cannot do the full duty of a public education system, even for those entering on "unskilled work."

> The schools for the great mass of our citizens are not sufficient to deal satisfactorily with the first duty of civic education to promote as far as possible the working capacity, and at the same time the joy in work of the pupil. Further, they can in no way promote industrial efficiency and industrial satisfaction in work. On the other hand, the conditions of industry for the apprentice of 14-18 years of age, in industrial work or in commerce, leave so much to be desired that the majority of our fellow-citizens, during their

introduction to a definite trade, attain neither a right understanding of work nor industrial efficiency, not to speak of a productive joy in work.

There is no need to point out the significance of these views in contrast to the exalted demands which official programmes and semi-official exhortations make on the pupils and the teachers of Irish Primary Schools, demands which no modern industrial state, such as Belgium, Holland, Denmark, or Switzerland, would dream of making on the best teachers and scholars in their elementary courses.

The principle of specific aim in even general Continuation course subjects—such as civics, history, geography, arithmetic, drawing—has spread widely in other German States which have followed Dr. Kerschensteiner's lead, such as Prussia and Saxony. So, too, has the cognate principle that a given grade of technical school should receive and educate only a given grade of industrial workers. "In Prussia," writes a recent authority, "it has always been recognised that the aims of these schools, which are intended for the lower or middle grade of workers, should not be placed high. They should remain Monotechnical in type. The development of the Lower Schools of Machinery in Prussia has been exceedingly satisfactory; and the pupils turned out by them have been able to meet all requirements of industry. *They have never trained foremen.* Such schools are always the resultant of a flourishing industry. They never call into life a new industry, or preserve the life of a dying trade." The doctrine of specific aim has led to a grading of technical education in Germany which is undreamt of in Irish or British or American systems. Each of the four grades—Industrial Continuation School, Lower Technical School, Middle Technical School, Technical High School, receives only scholars of a specified age and of a specified degree of attainment in general education. The Continuation School is for those only who have completed the Primary

Course. The Lower Technical School cannot be entered save at eighteen years of age, and by those who have completed their Continuation Course. The Middle Technical School receives only pupils who have done a Secondary course of six full years, ending not earlier than sixteen years of age. The Technical High School, as already stated, requires, for entrance, the completion of the full nine-year Secondary Course, at the average age of twenty years. Anyone who knows the weaknesses of all our Technical Schools, not excluding the Royal College of Science for Ireland, and Irish Universities also, can read the reformer's lesson in these requirements.

But it is round the scope of work and the ultimate result of the Continuation Course System that the conflict of ideas in Popular Industrial Education is bound to centre. There is no doubt that Dr. Kerschensteiner has by it achieved his aim in Munich and in Bavaria. "In 1900," he was able to claim in 1910, "of some 5,400 boys in the old-type Continuation Schools in Munich, nearly 1,000 were in casual and partial employment, and in danger of becoming loafers: the wastage of efficiency was nearly 20 per cent. It is now less than 2 per cent." This excellent result does not affect the truth that the Munich plan, and its equivalents elsewhere, by their very processes tie down a boy and girl, at fourteen years of age, to one specified grade of work—the lowest. They are made fully efficient in it, but it is a constricted efficiency. A Lower Technical School Course, open at eighteen years of age, may add to that efficiency for a limited number who can give two years of daytime attendance. But even that does not enable them to "climb the industrial ladder," for there is no ladder at all. Neither in aristocratic Germany nor in Radical France can the clever son or daughter of the poor man advance by proof of ability to a higher grade of education or occupation. They are confined to one group of schools. It is a rare event indeed for a pupil in the State Secondary School of Germany or of France, to have ever been in a State Primary School.

It is well known that for thirty years and more America has looked to Germany for everything in the way of educational progress; and the transfer of schemes and ideas has been a wholesale one. There is, therefore, no reason to be surprised if the principle of social and educational cleavage, inherent in the whole of German education, should find expression in Republican New England, and that such expression should be frank and thoroughgoing. Mr. Frank M. Leavitt, Superintendent of Manual Training in Boston Schools, in a paper read at New Haven, Conn., April 27, 1910, explained how the German principle was actually embodied in the Boston public system. Treating of the Training of Children for Practical Life and Trades, he pointed out that :—

> Our present educational scheme fails to recognise that the bulk of industrial workers must remain permanently industrial workers. The whole tendency of industrial development, during the past two hundred years, has been to concentrate in the hands of fewer and fewer men the management and direction of industry, until, while the theoretical possibility of rising out of the ranks to be a captain or a general of industry still exists for each individual, the probability is about as remote as that the promising boys in some senior class may live to be Presidents of the United States. For the masses an advance is absolutely impossible.

Based on this statement of the Social Fact, Mr. Leavitt draws, without flinching, the obvious inference as to the validity of the democratic concepts of education understood to be current in the United States, and pronounces that :—

> Our scheme of education is planned for the few rather than the many. It is a selective process, and the methods and machinery are adapted to those who go to the top. We should remember that equal opportunity for all does not mean identical opportunity. . . . The least we should be satisfied with is a flexible educational scheme which will provide . . . for a more intelligent entry into the lower grades of industrial work.

It is certainly a neat device in reasoning which leads to the judgment that an educational system is planned

for the few rather than the many, if it enables clever pupils among the many to rise above "the lower grades of industrial work." Naturally this line of argument has little mercy for the older types of continuation subjects, especially for the Manual Instruction beloved alike of the "Department," the "Intermediate Board," and the "National Board" here in Ireland. Mr. Leavitt sides with the finding on Industrial Education delivered in 1906 by the Massachusetts Industrial Commission, affirming that :—

> Manual Instruction has been urged as a cultural subject, mainly useful as a stimulus to other forms of industrial effort—a sort of mustard relish, an appetiser—to be conducted without reference to any industrial end. It has been severed from real life as completely as have other school activities.

With the Industrial Commission, Superintendent Leavitt declares that the genuine kind of education "means the fitting of a real boy for a real job . . . it means the training of the rank and file of the industrial army." The constricting influence of such a form of training in America would be far greater in the United States than in Germany. For we have the clear testimony of the National Education Association (Committee Report on Industries and Public Education, 1910) that "boys who enter mechanical trades, almost without exception," do so before nearing the end of the full Primary Course. Such a short-circuit in education would never be permitted in Central Europe.

Now this recent German ideal in Technical Education, tersely summarised by Superintendent Leavitt as meaning the fitting of a real boy for a real job, is precisely what the larger body of American educators have weighed and rejected. It is significant that it is rejected because it is found to be non-American and undemocratic. The evidence for this is very voluminous ; and it may be well to state that it is drawn from the two or three years immediately preceding the outbreak of the Great European

War. It will be enough to cite two typical expressions of the prevalent view, one from the historic New England side and one from the German-American group. Advising the Canadian Commission of Inquiry on Industrial Education, Dr. Stratton D. Brooks, also a Superintendent of Schools at Boston, emphasised the differences of principle between German and American policies in education :—

> [In the German Schools] they cut very close to what the boy is going to be, while in American Schools in from seven to nine-tenths of the cases they had no notion of this. German education may thus direct itself more definitely to a specific thing. It is an accepted condition of society there that a boy is to be a mechanic or a labouring man of a certain kind, and there is no escape from it. But in America it makes no difference what a boy's start in life may be, he has the same opportunity as other fellows if he can squeeze by and get to the top.

Having thus traversed Mr. Leavitt's statement of the Social Fact conditioning all education, Dr. Brooks consistently held out for the non-restrictive way of educating the boy, " so that (because of his sound powers of judgment) he may ultimately fit any opportunity that arises, and to create a flexible habit of mind in which the boy is not at all bound by any given set of conditions. . . . The industrial school ought not to produce the finished product, because the finished product is the result of restrictive education, and you have made a man who cannot do anything else. In America, at least, we have not yet come to that, on the whole."

This last sentence seems to indicate that the Kerschensteiner policy has found some distinct footing in the United States. Clearly it is a policy that would be favoured by what are termed " the manufacturing interests," which have in many American cities been active in thwarting the establishment of public technical institutes, and in promoting the establishment of trade schools annexed to and controlled by the proprietaries of great factories. To this restrictive type of industrial education

the American Trade Unions have of recent years, with a sure instinct to guide them, shown strong hostility. But Dr. Stratton Brooks holds that the Kerschensteiner model of technical education will fail to secure permanent acceptance in America. "Industrial education will go through stages. We shall have a lot of very specific schools trying to show that this boy is really prepared now to do something; and at the end of ten years they will do what the manual training schools have done." What that is, the incisive summary of the Massachusetts Industrial Commission has already made clear. So Dr. Brooks sums up in favour of the older American type of industrial education, lacking no doubt in completeness of organisation and in specific aim, but yet "securing more variety, more alertness, more quickness of judgment, more ability probably to start wrong, and back up at any time to get right. The trouble with the Germans is that if they ever started in wrong, then by the time they could get stopped and reverse the thing, the other fellow would be all over with it." Thus wrote Superintendent Brooks in 1912; he had no occasion to discuss the issues of an obvious alternative to the situation outlined in the last sentence.

German-American directive influence appears to have attained more and more influence in American education down to 1917; but it is significant that it is American far more than German in tone and view-point. Indeed it is frankly critical of the recent German policy in industrial education. A characteristic instance is found in the views of Dr. A. A. Hamerschlag, Director of the Carnegie Technical Schools at Pittsburg. Referring to the statement, in 1912, that one American city proposed—on the Kerschensteiner lines—to educate pupils so that there shall be no jar when the pupil leaves school and goes to the factory, Dr. Hamerschlag expressed absolute dissent.

> Nothing could be more disagreeable to a child than to feel that its environment in school was not richer, better, more formative

and more stimulating than the atmosphere of a factory. Hence there ought to be a jar ; there should not be any deftly modulated transit from school into work ; certain active nerve-centres in the body and the brain *should resent harness, if people are ever to rise even in the scale of industrial activity.* Manual training of the crude type, which tries to imitate factory processes, simply paralyses, and is not sufficiently educational.

Again, the German organisations, making separate types of general education (primary or secondary) lead inevitably and exclusively into equally separate types of industrial education, with no facilities for cross-line transit, are decisively rejected. " The important thing is to have no sharply-defined separation between the stages of elementary, secondary, and higher education. They must be flexible, so that the individual can fit himself as he pleases."

The meagre summaries available as to school reform in Germany, following on the recent revolution, all point to the overthrow of the old system of specific schools for restrictive education, as being capitalistic and undemocratic in purpose.

The significance of this struggle between the expansive and the restrictive types of the new popular education abroad will not be overlooked when the administration of Irish Education becomes National. Since our democratic clan-system of Education was crushed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we have suffered much from alien and political misdirection of educational effort. But our working Irish people, rural and urban, have a healthy sense of what are the needs and rights of the whole nation as regards its schools. It will not be hard to give them definite expression. Education must bear the main stress in the edifice of our renascent nationhood : and in Irish Education the broad issues of aim, spirit, and opportunity will be treated as fully as the more concrete problems of finance and of administrative machinery.

T. Corcoran.

THE HOUSING PROBLEM IN DUBLIN.

BY LAMBERT McKENNA, S.J., M.A.

THE authorities responsible for the government of this country are about to deal with the housing problem. An Irish Housing Bill is to be laid before Parliament. Anything like the housing scandal in Irish towns would never have arisen under a proper government; a government with even a moderate sense of duty would not have left it unremedied so long.

The provision of decent housing for the classes of the community which, owing to a general economic depression, cannot provide it for themselves is one of the first duties of any government. It is indeed a crime of the first magnitude to allow those who do most for the welfare and comfort of the nation to be shut off almost completely from an essential element of that welfare and comfort, namely, proper housing.

A decent dwelling means much more than a building in which a man and his family are protected from the weather and can enjoy some physical comfort. There is only one test question whereby to judge whether the house of any man, even the poorest man, is such as he should have. That question is: "Is it suitable for the living of family life?"

It must not, therefore, be so inadequately equipped, or so difficult to keep clean as to use up the housewife's energy in an eternal and ineffectual drudgery. It should afford proper privacy both for the family as such and for

the individuals of the family; that is, it should be so enclosed that there may be no difficulty in keeping out undesired visitors, in preserving the children from evil influences, and in escaping the overlooking of outsiders; it should be so large as to have a sufficiency of bedrooms—at least three, one for the boys, one for the girls and one for the parents. There should be adequate garden room for the children to play in, safe from objectionable companions. The house should be in secure tenure, that is, its price should be well within the resources of the bread-winner, so that he be not tortured with the fear of eviction.[1]

That such houses should be available for all, even the poorest, is a matter of vital consequence to the Irish nation, and in particular to the city of Dublin. Indeed the state of housing in Dublin is so intimately connected with the general life of the nation, and reacts so deeply and so widely outside the metropolis, that it assumes the importance of a national issue.

Irish folk have come, through long use, to regard Dublin slums as something normal, inevitable, something at which indignation would sound stale and unprofitable; moreover, as a rule, they have only a general impression of horror. Possibly if the exact dimensions of the evil were more often brought before them in the Press and otherwise their indignation might result in more effectual agitation. It will, therefore, be not amiss to recall the precise state of affairs as revealed by the official figures of the 1911 Census, and by the Report of the Local Government Housing Inquiry of 1914.

Dublin is the most over-crowded city in the Three Kingdoms; that is, the proportion of its people (22·9 per cent.) living in one-room tenements[2] is higher than in other

[1] Moreover, all Continental Catholic writers insist strongly on the advantages of an inalienable home, "*un bien insaisissable*," that is, a house with garden and some moveable property up to a certain value, which every citizen should own, and which could never be seized for debt.

[2] In the Dublin tenement houses some 12,042 families of more than two persons each lived (according to the Report of the Housing Inquiry, 1914, p. 4), crowded together in single rooms, with an average number of 6·5 persons to each room!

cities—nay, than in the most overcrowded portions of other cities. The worst figure in England is that of Finsbury, a portion of London, and even it is only 14·8. Moreover, by Dublin in these statistics is meant Greater Dublin. Were the Old City taken as the object of comparison, the figure would be higher still. The density of the population in the Old City is 71·1 people to the acre, while that of the New City is only 38·5;[1] and yet it is this New City which surpasses all others for overcrowding! The 1911 Census, moreover, shows that the population density is increasing more rapidly in the Old City than in the New—a very striking fact in view of the exodus of the wealthier folk, which has changed, within living memory, the whole character of the Dublin suburbs.

Dublin, moreover, has its special type of overcrowding, the slum tenement. Though in one aspect, namely, the generally large size of the rooms, overcrowding in tenement houses is not as bad[2] as overcrowding in small houses, yet in most respects the slum condition of Dublin is the worst to which the population of any city could be condemned.

It is needless to describe these tenement houses, veritable *bagnios*; with their open halls unprotected the night long from the evil things of the street, their crazy stairways, their insufficient sanitary accommodation, their repellent rooms (combinations of bedroom, scullery and sittingroom), in which order, cleanliness, quiet, decency are almost impossible. Nor need anything be said as to the effects of such dwellings—the high mortality, the impaired physical vigour, the prevalence of sickness, the temptations to drink, the thriftlessness, the impossibility of parental control over children, the temptations to immoral conduct, the very common neglect of religious duty. Were one told that in the Dublin back streets the people were all depraved and vicious, it ought not to create

[1] In 1900, 4,135 acres, with a population of only 6·3 people to the acre, were added to the 3,808 acres of the old city.

[2] On the other hand the very largeness of the rooms has its disadvantages. Not unfrequently are members of different families living in the same room.

surprise. What should surprise us is to learn—as we do—that as a whole they are wonderfully good—good, thousands of them, to the point of heroism.

As regards the numbers of people badly housed in Dublin, the facts as given by the 1914 Local Government Housing Committee[1] were as follows: Of the 304,802 persons in Dublin, 194,250 (viz., 63 per cent.) belonged to the working class. Of these, 32,000 had been placed in new houses,[2] and 34,000 others lived in fairly decent single houses which did not come under the Committee's terms of reference. The rest of the working-class population (128,250 persons) consisted of 25,822 families, living in 5,322 tenement houses, and 2,257 families living in 2,413 small slum houses. The Committee hoped that 3,804 of the tenement houses (then housing 18,991 families) could be reconstructed[3]; and that 1,121 of the small slum houses were not beyond repair. These 3,804 tenement houses were calculated to accommodate when reconstructed 13,000 families, so that the other 5,991 families then living in them would have to be provided with new dwellings. Besides these, there were the 6,831 families living in 1,581 irreparable tenement houses and the 1,136 families living in 1,136 condemned small houses. The Committee therefore proposed, besides the reconstruction of 3,804 tenement houses, that 14,000 new cottages should be built; in other words *they held that* 124,000 *people urgently required new housing.*

Such was the state of things set forth by the 1914 Housing Inquiry. It has not improved since. Slum-houses are rapidly deteriorating and becoming even

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[1] See also article in *British Review*, Nov., 1917, by Charles Travers, Chief Sanitary Officer, Dublin.

[2] *I.e.*, 7,500 housed by the Corporation, and 24,500 by various employers and private enterprises, such as the Artisans' Dwellings Co.

[3] Mr. Cowan (*Report on Dublin Housing*, 1918), Chief Engineering Inspector of the Local Government Board, doubts whether this number can be reconstructed; Councillor Cosgrave (*Corporation Report*, 1918, No. 13, p. 22 considers that any effort at their reconstruction would be futile and wasteful.

dangerous to life. Of the 5,322 existing in 1914, 1,000 have since been closed up, with, of course, the result that the 4,150 families in them had to leave. Of these families 587 have since been rehoused in 474 block-building dwellings and 113 cottages; the other 3,563 families have gone to intensify the congestion of the still standing 6,735 tenement houses, or have been packed into small single houses through the city. It is not, therefore, surprising that Mr. Cowan says 16,500 *new houses are now needed.*

To remedy this state of affairs it is plain that vast sums of money will be required. The 1914 Inquiry put the figure at £3,500,000[1], Mr. Cowan estimates it at £8,640,000, and the Corporation Housing Committee's last report (1918), dealing merely with the north side of the city, demands £5,079,720[1]. Moreover, these huge sums are required, in great measure at least, as gifts, not loans. Economic rents for the new houses are out of the question—nay, would be impossible even if the sites were to be had free. As an example of this Mr. Cowan mentions the case of a plain three-room house built lately in a Dublin district. The land was got for almost nothing, £9 an acre, the making of roads, sewers, etc., cost only £22 10s., and yet the economic rent of the house worked out at 9s. 10½d. a week[2]. It is out of the question that such a rent could be paid out of the small and precarious earnings of the Dublin work-folk. It is equally absurd to suppose that Dublin, a poor and over-taxed city, and one badly supplied with industries, could repay any but a small portion of these sums. As the 1914 Housing Inquiry, asking for only £3,500,000, considered that 16 per cent. of the money should be a gift, it is plain that a much greater proportion of the eight or nine millions now necessary should be given by way of subsidy.

The object of the Bill before Parliament is to enable

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[1] Exclusive of reconstruction cost of old houses.

[2] According to Mr. Cowan (*Reconstruction*, Talbot Press, 1919, p. 29) building is 25 per cent. dearer in Dublin than in most places in England.

local authorities to raise these huge sums. Whether the Bill is likely to succeed in its object (which some people doubt, seeing that the Treasury has the final decision as to the giving of the money) is a question of vital importance to the nation, but is not the one on which I purpose to speak at present. I propose merely to set forth some criticisms of the Corporation's method of dealing with the slum problem in the past. We could assume—even if we had not positive evidence to prove it to us—that this is the method which the Corporation is likely to follow in the future. It is surely of great importance that the general public should direct a careful and even a censorious attention to a matter affecting for good or evil the whole future of the city.

There can, of course, be no question of blaming the Corporation for the insufficiency of the housing provided up to this. The blame for that falls on the Government, whose terms for the loans of money have been prohibitive. Criticism, however, as to the nature of the accommodation provided, and as to the general method of dealing with the slum problem, must be directed chiefly on the Corporation Housing authorities, though the Local Government Board by sanctioning the Corporation's schemes, must be held as partly responsible.

Let us see, then, what the Municipality has done. The figures I give are quite up-to-date. Of the 2,323 dwellings which it has built only some 951 are cottages (the rest being in block-buildings), whereas all should have been cottages; of these 951 cottages less than a fifth are four-room cottages, whereas four-room cottages should have been the prevailing type; lastly, none of the 951 cottages have gardens, whereas all should have had them.[1]

Now, to blame the Corporation for its choice of the block-building type of dwelling is hardly fair, at least as regards the earlier schemes; for some fifteen or twenty

[1] For Housing Schemes completed up to March 31, 1918, see Appendix at the end of this article.

years ago this system was considered everywhere as a fairly satisfactory one. However, there has long been a universal agreement among housing authorities that such barrack-tenements should never have been built, as being injurious to health, unsuited to family life, and also very expensive.[1] In its latest schemes the Corporation Housing Committee has shown itself more enlightened, and is seen to be moving in the right direction. Its schemes for Fairbrothers' Fields, the McCaffrey Estate, and St. James's Walk, though far from ideal,[2] are said to be a great improvement on the Ormond Market scheme. Still, it is disappointing to find that it has not quite emancipated itself from its bad tradition. In one of its latest schemes, that for Crabbe Lane, it proposes to build three-story block-buildings. Also in its 1918 report on the North Side it proposes to build 25 houses to the acre on slum sites, and 20 houses to the acre on virgin soil. This means the replacing of old slums by new ones, which, moreover, owing to the smallness of the rooms, will after some years be worse slums than ever the old ones were. Mr. Cowan (*Report on Dublin Housing*, p. 18) proposes that in city districts there should never be more than twelve houses to the acre, and that in suburban districts there should be less; twelve houses to the acre affording a space of 20 yards by 20 yards for house, garden, approaches, etc., surely the minimum necessary to provide a dwelling which a man can consider a "home."

The Corporation, therefore, has been providing—and apparently still intends to provide—dwellings of an unsuitable type.

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[1] Each room in a block-building costs more (reckoning cost of site, building, etc.) than each room in a separate cottage. See Appendix to 1914 Housing Inquiry Report, p. 331, where on one and the same site the estimated cost of each room in a cottage is given as £64 5s. 8d., as compared with £101 0s. 10d. for each room in a tenement flat.

[2] The first of these schemes is not yet started; the other two are in progress. The houses are being packed some 26 to the acre, and are too highly rented, 7s. 6d. to 12s. 6d. a week.

This serious charge is not the only one which is urged by many people against the Building Authorities of the city; the procedure which they have pursued—and apparently intend to pursue—in dealing with the slum problem seems open to grave criticism.

This procedure is simplicity itself: a slum area is bought up, it is levelled, and houses are then built on it. Let us see what this means.

Crowds of poor people are dispossessed. What becomes of them? They flow out over the surrounding slum districts. It can hardly be contended that they can easily find accommodation in these surrounding districts; for (as we have seen) Dublin is a scandal among the cities for overcrowding, and of course it is the slums that are overcrowded. These evicted people, then, pour out into the surrounding districts, already congested, making them more congested, more unhealthy, more demoralising. And notice, this evil is not a merely passing one. Its results are permanent. The new dwellings, whether block-buildings or separate cottages, that have been built on the cleared areas have never been sufficient to rehouse anything like the number of people who had been evicted. The result, therefore, of each such levelling of a slum site is that the surrounding slums become still more congested than before, are likely to remain in this worse state, and are congested with the very poorest, for whom the new houses built on the cleared space are too dear.

The system seems a fatuous one, and all the more fatuous as it is one of the dearest which could have been devised. The legal expenses of proving title are, of course, great owing to the number of owners affected; the clearing away of old houses is costly; but, above all, the cost of these slum sites is appallingly high. The average cost of them has been over £6,000 an acre (in one case it was £11,600 an acre). Of course the rents paid by the new tenants are quite insufficient to pay the interest on such expenses. For the houses built before 1913 and costing

£354,215 15s. 0d.[1] the gross yearly sum to be paid by the Corporation was over £20,000. To meet this, rents brought in only £11,000, so that the city rates were burdened with £9,000 a year. Things are worse now, the deficit for the year ending March, 1918, being £19,987 13s. 3d.

This seems a high price to pay for a system which not only does not provide a single proper house for the very poor, but by increasing the congestion of the slums places the general body of the poor in a worse condition than before, and (to crown all), by intensifying the struggle for accommodation in the crowded slums makes these slums more valuable to their owners and therefore more difficult to buy up in the future.

It is harder to understand why the Corporation still clings to this method when one finds that the Corporation realised its disadvantages and resolved to abandon it as far back as 1901. A Government Committee appointed in that year to inquire into the causes of the Dublin death-rate condemned this method of dealing with the slum problem, and the Corporation by an unanimous vote adopted the finding of the Committee! Again, in 1903, a Housing Conference composed of the Parliamentary representatives of Dublin City and County, members of the Corporation, and of the Trades Council, and presided over by Mr. T. Harrington, the Lord Mayor of the day, published a report in which we read the following clear and strong words: "It was the unanimous opinion of the Committee that it would be a fatal mistake to continue to put a premium on bad sanitation and improper housing by purchasing at a ruinous rate unsanitary areas and rebuilding them. The most desirable remedy . . . . is to build at first on the outskirts, cottages . . . ." And the Corporation by a unanimous vote adopted this finding!

[1] Instead of the 1,385 dwellings (mostly in block-buildings) built by the Corporation before 1914, nearly 2,000 self-contained cottages could have been built on the outskirts of the city with this £354,215. The 1914 Inquiry estimated the cost of such cottages at £250 each at that time, and they had been much cheaper a short time before.

The method recommended in the above words was publicly approved of by Mr. Lorcan Sherlock when Lord Mayor in 1913; it was recommended by the 1914 Housing Inquiry, and it has been recommended by Mr. Cowan in his Report of last year.

Yet there is no sign that the Corporation Housing Committee intend to follow it. In one of their last Reports (1918, No. 13) they propose to build on 227 acres of virgin soil, but they also propose to clear and rebuild 80 acres of slum; nor is there any suggestion that the rebuilding of the slum sites is to come after the provision of houses on virgin soil.

The method recommended by the Government Committees of 1901 and 1913, and by the Housing Conference of 1903 is that before any slum houses are levelled a number of cottages should be built on vacant spaces within or just outside the city border, and as near as possible to the worse congested of the slum districts.

These cottages would provide accommodation for a good number of the people who live in the slums near by. The Corporation could then enforce its Sanitary Laws on these slums. This would have two good effects. Those who could not afford to take the new houses or who might find them inconveniently situated, and who would therefore remain on in the slums, would, when their landlord would be forced to keep their houses in proper repair, find life less unbearable. Secondly, the enforcement of the law as to overcrowding, the provision of proper sanitary accommodation, the keeping of yards, floors, walls, etc., in proper order, would considerably reduce the value of the slum property, and would, when the time would come for buying it up, enable the Corporation to get it at something like a reasonable figure.

What, then, are the difficulties which have prevented the adoption of this plan? The Corporation Housing tenathorities, though challenged and criticised over and over expens, have never—not even at the 1914 Inquiry—given any

reasoned or detailed explanation of their difficulties, but have treated their critics as ill-informed or malevolent.

There would seem to be only three pleas which the Corporation could by any possibility allege in its defence. Firstly, that there is not enough virgin soil conveniently situated for the relieving of the congestion of the slums; secondly, that the building of separate cottages on virgin soil would be too costly; thirdly, that such suburban cottages would not meet the needs or the wishes of the working class. Let us examine these pleas in order.

Can it be said that there is a dearth of virgin soil? According to the Borough Surveyor's evidence in 1913, there were within the city boundary 1,146 acres of virgin land, not to mention a considerable amount of derelict land—enough to provide sites at the rate of twelve houses an acre for almost all the 14,000 houses required; while just outside the boundary, at places like Artane, Santry, Finglas, Pelletstown, on the North side, and Crumlin, Terenure, Milltown, and Merrion on the South, there is an unlimited quantity of available land. Some of these sites outside, and indeed some inside, the boundary are lacking in facilities for communicating with the centre of the city, but none of the authorities who speak of this matter seem to suspect any very great difficulty about the extension of the tram system and the provision of cheap workpeople's fares.

Secondly, it is hard to see how the Corporation's plea of financial stress, used by it on at least one occasion, is of any avail as a defence of its method of attacking the slum problem. It is certain that the total cost (site, clearing, development, building, etc.) of each room in a cottage on slum site is dearer than the total cost of each room in a suburban cottage. The Corporation Housing Committee's Report (1918) gives the following figures[1]:—

Cottage on slum site: Building, £380; Clearing, Roads, Sewers, £50; Site, £120. Total, £550.

[1] Even these figures seem open to criticism. They represent the expenses of the city cottage as lower, and those of the suburban one as higher, than would appear to be fair. The average cost of buying up each acre of slum is given as £3,074,

Cottage on suburban site: Building, £380; Clearing, Roads, Sewers, £35; Site, £35. Total, £450.

Or see the figures in the 1914 Inquiry's Report (p. 331) by Mr. Tobin, Secretary of the Paving Committee:—

Cost of room in Slum-Site Cottage.	*Cost of room in Suburban Cottage.*
Cork Street—£71 9s. 8d. (in 1913).	Inchicore—£49 12s. 8d. (in 1912).
Lurgan Street—£66 13s. 4d. (in 1917).	Drumcondra—£59 3s. 11d. (in 1904).

The Housing Committee can, therefore, hardly plead that, having to build a certain number of cottages, they were forced through lack of money to build them on slum sites rather than on suburban ground.

The only argument which the Housing Committee has much used in meeting this charge is the argument that virgin sites remote from the centre of the city are not what the workman wants, that the workman must be near his work. In challenging this principle the critics of the Housing Committee have pointed triumphantly to the garden plots which have been largely taken up by work-people, who have been quite willing to travel considerable distances from their homes to their plots. This, however, seems to me not to prove much. It proves only that a considerable number of workfolk would gladly live at some distance from their work *if it were financially possible for them to do so*, for the allotments, of course, more than pay for the price of these tram journeys. It does not by itself prove that any considerable number of workfolk would so

whereas the 1914 Inquiry shows that from 1866 to 1913 it was (even omitting one scandalously high case in 1911) £5,059; the average cost of clearing each acre of slum is given as £1,000, whereas (similarly omitting one exceptional case), according to the 1914 Report, it was £1,660. On the other hand, the average price per acre of virgin soil is given as £700. This, the price paid for Fairbrothers' Fields, seems high. Only £320 an acre was given for the Inchicore site, and the price of one of the biggest of the schemes at present under contemplation, that of Drumcondra, is only £338. The editor of the *Irish Builder* asserts that suitable sites can be had at much less than £300 an acre. (*Irish Builder*, October, 1918).

much prefer to live in the suburbs that they would willingly pay the extra expenses which this involves.

Still, the argument that the workman must be near his work seems a poor defence of the Housing Committee's method of rebuilding the slums.

The classes of workers who have to reside in a particular locality are only a small fraction of the working population. They are chiefly night porters, market porters, and especially dock labourers. The vast majority of both artisans and labourers in point of fact very often live fairly far from their work, and in a very large number of cases, for instance in the building and kindred trades, their work is constantly changing from one part of the city to another and yet does not cause them to change their places of residence.

Even as regards the dock-labourers and others who are said to have to live near their work, the argument is not very telling for the Housing Committee's position.

In the first place it is not found by experience in other places that dockers must live near their work. In Belgium, for instance, they often live at a long distance from it and are summoned by telephone messages (sent to points near their dwellings). They then travel to the docks by tram.

In the second place, there is much virgin soil fairly near the localities where these men work. In particular, with regard to the dock labourers, there are $15\frac{1}{2}$ acres of such land on the North Lotts, which is a very convenient site for the North Docks labourers, and by means of a ferry could be made convenient for the South Docks men also. If tram facilities were provided—and they would—the superabundant land at Croydon Park, Marino, etc., would more than house all the dockers very conveniently for their work.

In the last place, it is hard to see how the Corporation's present method is anything less hard on these men than the virgin-soil method.

For, what happens at present? Take the case of a

man living in a condemned slum area, a man who (as we shall suppose) has to live in it so as to be near his work. When the place where he lives is knocked down he must leave. He cannot go far; he, therefore, removes into a neighbouring slum, which, of course, he and his fellow evicted tenants make worse than before. There he must live until a new house is built on the site of his old dwelling —a new house which will probably be beyond his means. On the other hand, suppose the virgin-soil method to be adopted, and see what happens to this man. The building of the virgin-site houses, even at a certain distance away, will lessen the congestion of the slums all round him. The Corporation's Sanitary Laws can be strictly enforced, and will make his conditions of life less unbearable. When the time comes for the knocking down of the place wherein he lives he will be more likely to get some fairly decent place to live in hard by until a new house is built on his old site. Even if he cannot pay for one of the new cottages he is no worse off but much better off than in the first supposition. In other words, by the Corporation method he is inevitably put into a worse condition, and probably permanently condemned to it. In the virgin-soil method he is certainly put into a better position, and can, if he wishes, remain in it; and, moreover, has just as good a chance of getting a decent cottage on his old site in the course of time as under the Corporation method.

Mr. Birrell in a debate of the House of Commons on the 1914 Report, described a visit he paid to a poor old woman in the Dublin slums. He pictured her as regarding him with suspicion as a member of some charitable society who wished to transport her for her own good out into the lonely country. He implied that the chief obstacles to building on the outskirts is the love of the poor for the life and society, such as it is, of the slums. We need not, of course, mind Mr. Birrell, who was ever on the look out for humorous rather than for true views of things; but Mr. Cosgrave, a member of the Housing Committee and

one who knows Dublin well, seems to adopt more or less the same view as to the prejudices of the Dublin poor. In an article in *New Ireland* (Nov. 17, 1917) he states that not more than one in five of the applicants for cottages ask for cottages on the outskirts of the city. From this remark of his, occurring as it does in the course of an argument in favour of the Corporation method, one might fairly gather that one in five of the applicants for cottages wants them on the outskirts. Now, if one in five, or even one in ten, of the slum dwellers were moved out to the suburbs would not the congestion of the slums be immensely relieved ? Would not the Corporation be able to improve the conditions of the slums by a strict exercise of the powers which it asked for and got from Parliament in 1890 ? And would it not be making the property of the slum owners much less profitable and, therefore, more easily bought up afterwards ? True, it would not be providing houses (I do not count rooms in block-buildings as houses) for the very poor, but then it has not been providing that class with houses up to the present hour.

Moreover, as to the statement that only one-fifth of the applications are for suburban cottages, it must be remembered that the applicants probably had in mind the present state of transit facilities. They imagined, probably, that if they were housed at Crumlin or Finglas they would have to walk in and out of town every day ; whereas it can be fairly assumed that an improvement of the means of transit would be made concurrently with the building of houses on the outskirts, and that cheap working-class tram fares would be available on these new lines. It is therefore not improbable that if such improved transit conditions were proposed to the people that a larger number than one in five would prefer cottages at some distance from the centre of the city.

The method chosen, and still being followed, by the Housing Committee is one which inflicts great injury, physical and moral, on the poor. The members of the

Committee must have adverted to this, for this is precisely the excuse they urged when charged before the 1914 Housing Inquiry with their neglect to carry out their own sanitary by-laws.[1] They argued that had they done so, the landlords, finding their property unprofitable, would have closed it down and thus have inflicted great hardships on the tenants. This solicitude for the tenants has, therefore, been advanced as a good excuse for lenity to the slum owners, but has not induced the Corporation to provide dwellings for tenants driven out of levelled slum sites, nor induced it to compensate—as by law it could—the tenants thus evicted.

In view, therefore, of the great sufferings involved in the Housing Committee's method ; in view of the fact that the method has been condemned by experts, both those like Mr. Cowan who have specially studied the Dublin problem, and those like Mr. Geddes who have studied similar problems in other cities ; in view of the fact that the advantages of the method are not easily perceived by the unofficial mind, while its disadvantages are painfully evident ; in view of the fierce and often very violent attacks made on the method in the Press and on the platform ; and lastly, in view of the fact that the Corporation itself by an unanimous vote condemned the method as far back as 1901 and several times since, it seems most unwise of the Housing Committee never to have fully explained to the public whatever valid reasons they may have had for their conduct. This silence is the stranger in public representatives as very unworthy motives, motives of jobbery, favouritism and the like, are constantly attributed to them in letters to the Press, in

[1] These by-laws have been enforced more strictly in recent years, inflicting much hardship on the evicted tenants, for whom no provision has been made. The Public Health Act of 1878 (Sect. 114 and 120) gives power to the Corporation, when a tenement owner will not put his property in repair, to itself enter the premises, effect the necessary repairs, and then recover the expense, either directly from the landlord or by receiving the weekly tenants' rents. The Corporation, however, has not used this power, but has preferred to close the property, thus evicting tenants for whom it has made no provision elsewhere. See letters on this subject in the *Evening Telegraph*, March 8-15, 1919.

speeches to the public, and in the conversations of the ordinary city folk. Many of the members of the Corporation and of the Housing Committee enjoy reputations quite beyond the reach of such insinuations, but then even the wisest and most upright of administrators often go wrong, and are never the worse for the honest and rough-and-ready criticism of the man in the street.

L. McKenna.

Appendix.

Housing Schemes completed by the Corporation up to 31st March, 1918.

Position.	*Nature and Number of Dwellings.*	*Total Cost of Scheme under all Heads.*
		£ s. d.
Coombe	210 tenements	24,817 1 0
Plunkett Street	99 ,, ...	29,479 6 0
Benburb Street	144 ,, and 1 lodginghouse	27,920 1 7
Bow Lane	86 ,, ...	10,325 0 0
Bride's Alley	174 ,, ...	99,887 10 10
St. Paul St. and Blackhall Place ...	80 ,, and 5 shops ... / 24 cottages.	17,755 2 7
Foley Street	460 tenements	63,606 17 10
Elizabeth St. (Drumcondra)	14 cottages	2,240 13 3
Inchicore	377 ,, ...	63,980 1 8
Townsend Street	15 tenements and 5 shops ...	3,620 8 2
Clontarf	57 cottages	7,207 14 11
Donneycarney	8 ,, ...	1,180 0 0
St. Joseph's Place ...	80 ,, ...	26,218 12 0
Cook Street	45 ,, ...	12,650 12 0
Lurgan Street	48 ,, ...	10,878 8 4
Church Street	146 ,, ...	59,843 9 11
Trinity Ward	28 ,, ... / 48 tenements.	24,671 7 10
Ormond Market	56 ,, ... / 49 cottages	44,902 9 8
Spitalfields	75 ,, ...	29,260 18 0

All the above were slum areas except Inchicore, Clontarf, Elizabeth Street, and Donneycarney; Clontarf and Donneycarney are outside the Old City boundary.

Schemes in course of execution or under active consideration.

Position.	*Nature and Number of Dwellings.*	*Sanctioned Cost of (a) Site alone, (b) Scheme.*
		£ s. d.
M'Caffrey Estate	202 cottages	73,541 2 10(*b*)
St. James' Walk ...	64 ,, ...	16,822 0 0(*b*)
Fairbrothers' Fields ...	370 ,, ...	223,792 8 8(*b*)
Friends' Fields	———	———
Crabbe Lane	162 tenements	6,564 0 0(*a*)
Boyne Street	88 cottages	5,655 0 0(*a*)

NOTES ON SOCIAL WORK IN CANADA.

BY HENRY SOMERVILLE, M.A.

IN a recent issue of STUDIES Professor Frank O'Hara gave an account of the Prohibition movement in the United States. What Prof. O'Hara says of the movement in the Republic is very much the same as an observer would say of Canada. From May 1st, 1918, to May 1st, 1919, the city and district of Montreal has been the only "wet spot" in Canada. Since the latter date Montreal has been compelled to close its saloons through the coming into effect of legislation passed more than a year ago, so that in one sense all Canada is now "dry." But as recently as April 10th last a referendum in the province of Quebec resulted in an overwhelming majority favouring the licensing of the sale of light beers and wines. This marks an advance towards Prohibition in Montreal, where until May 1st last all the stronger drinks were sold; but, for the rest of the province, where Prohibition has prevailed for more than a year, the vote represents a movement towards a moderate restoration of drinking facilities. In any case, Quebec is no index to the state of feeling in the other provinces. Excessive drinking was never the evil in Quebec that it was in other parts of Canada and therefore Quebec has never developed any strong Prohibition sentiment. All the other provinces in Canada are now "dry," but nobody supposes that the question is settled. The issue will remain prominently in Canadian politics for some time to come.

It must always be remembered that there are degrees of Prohibition. The earliest form, and until recently the most usual form of Prohibition was what is known as local option. Cities, towns and counties might go dry whilst the rest of the province remained wet. This local prohibition could only apply to the sale of liquor over the bar, as in hotels, saloons and stores. It could not prevent private persons importing liquor from outside the municipality and using it in their own homes. A more advanced degree of Prohibition was when it was made province-wide. This reduced the number of wet spots available to the thirsty outside the borders of their own municipalities, but importation of liquor for private use from outside provinces was still possible. It was another step forward when importation from a wet province into a dry one was prohibited. Canada is now in this stage of Prohibition. The law is strictly enforced in Ontario, which is the province that I knew best. No liquor for beverage purposes can legally be purchased in the province or from outside. It might be thought, therefore, that Ontario is thoroughly dry, but this is far from being the case. A great many people have their cellars stocked with liquor bought before the enforcement of Prohibition. The first step in Prohibition was the closing of the saloons and liquor stores in 1916. From the passing of the Prohibition Act to the commencement of its operation there was a period of some months during which the retailers of liquor could get rid of their stocks and the people could buy it to keep in their homes. People were buying liquor for this purpose all during the months preceding Prohibition, and on the last days that the liquor places were open the demand was so enormous that many dealers made money enough to keep them for the rest of their lives.

It still remained possible to get liquor by mail order. One had only to send an order by letter to a dealer outside the province and one was able to get all the liquor one could pay for. A gigantic mail order business grew up

between dry Ontario and wet Quebec. In April, 1918, this was stopped by Dominion legislation. But again there was a period between the passing of the legislation and its going into effect, a period utilised by the liquor sellers and liquor buyers to do as much business in two months as they would normally have done in several years. To illustrate this, the present writer may describe what he himself saw in Toronto. In North America there are express companies, or carting and delivery agents on a larger scale than is known in Europe. When April, 1918, came round the law said that importations of liquor from other provinces was to cease. Importations did cease on that date; but the railway companies and the express companies found themselves with huge quantities of liquor that they had been unable to deliver to the consignees owing to the enormous increase of the business. The Government granted the express companies a month's extension to make deliveries. Half-way through this month I had the opportunity of visiting a warehouse of one of the express companies in Toronto. It was not a regular warehouse but an old market place that had been taken over by the express company to store liquor owing to the congestion in all their other stock rooms. In this improvised warehouse I saw a perfect forest of cases of liquor. There were wide rows of cases, piled high above a man's head, with narrow lanes between the rows where one could walk. There were about 30,000 cases of liquor. I saw the labels on the cases, with the names of those to whom they were consigned. These names would have made a directory of well-known people in Toronto. What I saw was the stock of only one delivery company and that at the fag-end of the delivery period. From what I did see I am quite ready to believe that people who liked liquor purchased supplies to the full capacity of their cellars and their purses. It is current gossip that some of the wealthy men of the town have tens of thousands of dollars' worth of liquor in their homes, and poorer

men are said to have mortgaged their houses to buy in supplies. This is Prohibition in the dryest Province in Canada!

The law is well enforced in Ontario. There is a certain amount of illicit traffic in liquor, but the offenders are being caught and heavily punished. The chief weakness in the law relates to the dispensing of liquor prescriptions by medical practitioners. Doctors are now prescribing liquor to their patients at a rate which is sometimes a scandal, and it is being debated whether new legislation is required, or whether the profession itself will adopt measures to stop the abuse. The consumption of medicated wines, which contain a large proportion of alcohol, has also increased greatly under Prohibition. To stop illicit traffic the police are not considered sufficiently reliable, and the temperance organizations have their own private detectives or "spotters," who collect evidence for prosecutions. In other parts of Canada where Prohibition prevails either by local or provincial enactment, it is easier to evade the law. It is not a rare thing to see men drunk in the streets or on trains. Every community has its official vendor of liquor who can lawfully supply liquor on the written orders of medical men. Some of these vendors are strict and others are lax in their ways: it depends upon what the community wishes to tolerate. In some communities Prohibition is a farce.

Ontario may be taken as the best example of a Prohibition province in Canada. The selling and drinking of liquor in public houses has been abolished. Only at great trouble and risk is it possible to get liquor illicitly. The well-to-do classes have at present abundant supplies that they obtained before the enactment of Prohibition. The people whose fondness for liquor was not keen enough to make them lay in such stocks and the people who had no money to do so are now without liquor and unable to obtain any. The Prohibition that exists in Canada is Prohibition for the working-class. It cannot be said there is

Prohibition for the people "higher-up" until they have approached the end of their present abundant reserves. We have had the saloons closed for more than two years, and this has virtually been Prohibition for workingmen. Only a few availed themselves of the mail order opportunities. I think that from our experience of Prohibition we may say that it has been beneficial. I do not know of Prohibition causing any serious harm to anybody. I know of many families that are immensely better for it. Husbands and fathers who used to spend their wages on drink now spend the money on their homes. Workmen have kept much better time at their employment than they formerly did. This has been perhaps the chief reason for the financial support given to the Prohibition movement by wealthy employers of labour. I noted with special interest Professor O'Hara's remark that in Oregon there had not been a reduction of idleness under Prohibition.

I have said that in Ontario Prohibition has been "beneficial," and I have been careful not to say "successful," because the latter word is ambiguous. Prohibition has done much obvious good and no serious harm, but it has not removed one-tenth of the evils that Prohibitionists have been wont to attribute to liquor. People who were ne'er-do-well and drunken before are now ne'er-do-well though sober. There has been a reduction in the common crimes that result from drunkenness, yet revelations of the prevalence of diseases resulting from vice have produced panic in dry Ontario. It has always seemed to me that the chief question about Prohibition was whether the repression of one form of relaxation and indulgence would not lead to other and perhaps worse forms. For that reason I have been careful to observe, so far as my opportunities permitted, whether Prohibition would result in increased drug-taking, a habit far more common in North America than in the British Isles. I have had no evidence of such an increase among civilians, but there has been an increase among soldiers.

It can only be a conjecture whether this increase is due to Prohibition.

Throughout this article I have given my own personal impressions and experiences from living and travelling in Prohibition territories. Speaking of the places I have lived in, my judgement is that Prohibition has not been tried long enough to afford proof of its social value, but its results up to the present have been advantageous. My experience would endorse what Prof. O'Hara says about the United States, that Prohibition is still in the experimental stage and that nobody knows how it is going to work out.

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I often wonder whether one day there will not arise a movement for the prohibition of picture houses, variously called cinemas or "movies." A venerable Canadian priest of long and wide parish experience told me that he thought the picture house caused more havoc than the saloon. Every priest, teacher and social worker agrees that the cinema has become a mighty problem. It is not so much that objectionable pictures are shown. That is only a small part of the problem, though it is by no means trivial. The worst thing is that with many of the poor the passion for the cinema becomes insatiable and becomes a madness. I know myself that in St. Vincent de Paul work it is not unusual for a client to come and beg boots for the children. You have ocular evidence that boots are needed. The conference supplies the boots. A few days later the children are again without boots. There are very few pawnshops in Canada; but there are many second-hand stores called "junk-shops." The boots have been sold to the junk dealer, not to buy liquor, in the style known to charitable workers on both sides of the Atlantic, but to go to the cinema! Mother and children of a poor family will go to the pictures three or four times a week, spending money that is needed for food, and spending more than

many a hopeless drunkard spends on drink. The health of the children suffers because going to the pictures means they stay up late at night and lose sleep. Teachers blame the pictures for weakening the mental powers of children, especially the power of application. One theory to explain this is that the child has its imagination stimulated to excess by a night at the pictures and that it spends the next day re-visualizing the exciting scenes thrown on the screen, with the result that its wits are wool-gathering when it ought to be attending to its lessons.

Whether or not the Prohibition of liquor tends to encourage drug-taking I do not know, but I am convinced that it leads to more dancing. There is no large town in England, and perhaps none in Ireland, where there is not a class of persons whose love for dancing amounts to a craze, one might say a disease. In the dry cities of the New World the madness is even greater, and I believe its growth is partly due to Prohibition. A city like Toronto has its innumerable dancing "academies," where dances, open to anyone who pays the charge, go on every night of the week. But there is far more than this. Cafes have their dancing floors, where an orchestra plays music, and a couple going in for a cup of coffee will do a waltz before or after their refreshments as if it were a mere incident like lighting a cigarette. Some of the huge lodging-houses, called apartment houses, have a dance room attached, and dancing goes on every evening. Toronto stands on the shore of Lake Ontario. On a summer evening it is very delightful to go over the lake on a steamer. There is a regular service of these evening cruises, and the advertisements tell you that there will be music for dancing on deck in the pale moonlight.

Dancing, under the best conditions, has its evils when there is too much of it. I have known in England a parish club to have a minimum of two dances a week during the whole season. But there is obviously a special evil in this public, promiscuous dancing in cafes, academies, and on

boats, where any man can "pick up" anyone of the opposite sex for a partner without introduction or any other formality beyond the request for the dance. There are at least as many occasions of sin in the dance hall as in the liquor saloon, but the point I wish to bring out in the present article is that the habit of dancing and the habit of going to the picture shows assert the same sort of mastery over the individual as does the liquor habit, and with evil results to body, mind and soul. Whether drink is the cause of the greatest evil I do not know. Of course drink *shows* evil effects more repulsively in the form of drunkenness, whereas there is no such outward sign of inward mischief in the case of the picture-fiends and the dancing fiends.

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On the other side of the Atlantic I have seen a far higher standard of material comfort among the working class than on this side. The people have been better fed, better clothed, better housed and worked less excessively. The children have been kept longer at school. Amusements have been less gross than I know them to be in an English slum. But on the whole I cannot say that the spiritual quality of life is any better for these advantages. I am using the word spiritual now in a natural, not the supernatural sense. If I were to be speaking of Catholic life as I found it in Canada, I should be all praise, for that was certainly most inspiring and edifying to me. But the workingman in the big city on the other side has not the same amount of intellectual interest in life as his British brother. Amongst the labourers and artizans and clerks of Leeds and Manchester it is easy to find poets and philosophers, men who are intimately familiar with their Shakespeare and (perhaps deplorably) Herbert Spencer. It is not easy to find such men in Toronto, and if they are there the odds will be that they come from this side of the Atlantic. Moreover, the high wage paid to young people

in American cities leads to the casting off of parental control. Many young men and girls have of necessity to leave the parental roof to seek employment. Their parents may live hundreds, perhaps thousands of miles away. A city in the New World is full of these youthful immigrants. But it is also common to find young men and young girls living independently in lodging houses although their parental homes are in the same town. They do this because they may have had a little tiff with their parents, or because they want to have more freedom, or simply for the sake of convenience, to be nearer to their place of business, or to share rooms with a chum. A girl may be living away from her parents in this fashion and there will be no strained relations with the family. She will call frequently for a friendly visit, or to consult her mother about a new frock, or to invite a sister to the pictures. When I say lodging-houses, I mean what the Americans call rooming houses. There is no "board" provided, but simply a room. All meals, including breakfast, are taken outside at cafes. A "roomer" has all the perfect liberty of a latchkey. She can enter or leave the house when she likes and, within the limits set by the proprietor of the house, who considers the reputation of his rooms for respectability, she can entertain what visitors she likes in her own room. Arriving in America with the traditions of the Old World, one is somewhat scandalized at first to find girls in their teens thus independently established whilst their parents are living half a mile away. One would be inclined to prophesy dire results, but I believe it does not work out as badly as might be expected. It is a symptom, however, of the weakening of family ties which is, I believe, the worst of all modern social evils.

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Juvenile delinquency is one of the greatest problems with which social workers in the United States and Canada have to contend. The Children's Court, where young

offenders are tried by a special judge and with a procedure entirely different from that of the ordinary police court, is a typically American institution. The idea is to avoid treating the child delinquent as a criminal, because it is thought that such treatment tends to make him a criminal. A delinquent, when he is brought before the Court, is generally not punished, but is put on "probation." This is not the place to describe the whole system, but I should like to mention a very excellent form of social and charitable work that goes on in connection with the probation system. When a boy or a girl comes before the Court on some such charge as stealing or vagrancy or truancy, it is often found that the child has no parents able or willing to keep him in proper control. A "Big Brother" for a delinquent boy, or a "Big Sister" for a girl is therefore provided. The "Big Brother," as his name implies, takes a fraternal interest in the erring little fellow. He visits him in his home, he takes him for walks, or to a theatre, or to a ball game; perhaps he gets him to join a boy's club, and he encourages him to attend to his religious duties. If the youngster has left school, the "Big Brother" may assist him in getting employment. By all these friendly services the "Big Brother" keeps the lad in check and perhaps prevents delinquency from developing into crime. The "Big Brother" movement is something that can well be applied on this side of the Atlantic in order to prevent many of our Catholic boys when they leave school from abandoning Mass and the Sacraments. This very idea was put forward by Cardinal Vaughan in England many years ago. If his words had been heeded, there would not have been such an appalling leakage from the Faith to be deplored in England.

HENRY SOMERVILLE.

COMMUNICATIONS.

Ireland and World Contact.

I.—In the Past.

In the last issue of Studies Mr. Horgan wrote: "The need of the moment is to recreate an international status for Ireland. The decline of that status is a field that has yet to be explored by the historian. During the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Ireland as a political entity was as sharply defined in the minds of the French and Spanish peoples as even England itself." The purpose of this communication is to throw some light on the reality and decline of that international status. The documents to be quoted will be found in *El Real Decreto de Su Majestad publicado en su Supremo Consejo de Castilla en 7 de Marzo de 1792 con insercion de anteriores Reales Cedulas, en que se declaran los privilegios y goces concedidos a favor de los Irlandeses Catolicos establecidos en estos Reynos.*[1]

That Ireland is a separate nation, distinct from England, is the inextinguishable belief of all Irishmen, and is a fact not hard to demonstrate. The extent, however, to which foreign peoples and governments recognised this distinction is a more intricate problem. Political necessities, no doubt, compelled the European nations to recognise from time to time the English conquest of Ireland; but such recognition did not imply an acknowledgment of its justice nor a confession that it was accepted by the Irish people. This is clear (1) from the official reception of Irish ambassadors at the Courts of Rome, Madrid, Paris and Brussels; (2) from the constant encouragement and armed assistance given to Ireland struggling for independence from 1570 to 1798; (3) from the treatment accorded to Irish exiles who sought a refuge from oppression.

Let us examine this third point in some detail. The three nations to which the Irish emigrated during the period under consideration (1600-1800) were Spain, France and America. Cold legal documents,

[1] Impreso en Cadiz, por D. Juan Ximenez Carreno, Calle de San Miguel.

royal decrees, judicial decisions and the dispassionate statements of contemporaries prove for each of these countries that the Irish refugees were not considered as subjects of England, but as citizens of a nation unjustly enslaved.

The attitude of Spain is typical of others.[1] On the downfall of the Gael in 1603 the first great exodus of the Irish began. Thousands of men, women and children fled to foreign lands. France received many; but the majority sought refuge in the Spanish dominions. Philip III. received them with kindness and treated them with generosity. Their social rank was recognised, revenues were assigned to the nobles, and the gentlemen were enrolled in the Irish Brigade in Flanders under the command of Henry O'Neill, and, after his death, of John O'Neill, sons of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone. Nor did Philip forget the children—" los chiquitos nobles irlandeses " (the noble little Irish children), as he loved to call them. He founded schools for their education, imitating in this the example of his father who, in El Real Colegio de Nobles Irlandeses (the Royal College of Irish Nobles) founded in the university city of Salamanca, left behind him a monument of royal munificence which has endured to the present day. Philip III. made no difference between Irish and Spaniard in regard to employments civil or military, and this policy of his continued under his successors. A royal decree of King Charles II., dated May 11, 1680, expressly declares this policy to be the custom in Spain :—

> The Irish have always enjoyed in the Spanish dominions the same rights as Spaniards in respect of the obtaining of offices or employments. No obstacle has ever been placed in the way of their obtaining political or military appointments in their turn with Spaniards. Such has always been the custom and is actually being observed in the Spanish armies.

The revolution which placed King William III. on the throne of England led to a large exodus of English as well as Irish Catholics to the Continent. Many of these, mostly civilians it would seem, went to Spain; but the majority, mostly soldiers, remained in France. After the Peace of Ryswick, however, the reduction

[1] For the legal status of the Irish in France see the Letter of Louis XIV. to Lieutenant Civil Le Camus, dated 1 Mars 1704; the decree of Louis XV. issued to the Fermiers du Domain, March, 1736; Collections de Décisions Nouvelles et de Notions Relatives à la Jurisprudence Actuelle par Maître J. B. Denisart, Procureur au Châtelet de Paris (Neuvième édition, I., 91, Paris, 1775); Observations Historiques sur l'origine, les services et l'état civil des officiers irlandois au service de la France, adressées à l'Assemblée Nationale, Rédigées par M.A.D. [*i.e.*, Comte Arthur Dillon], député à l'Assemblée Nationale [1792], etc.

of the French Army and of the Irish Brigade in the service of France led to many of the latter passing into the service of Spain. There they formed at the beginning of the eighteenth century three regiments known to history as Irlanda the Famous, Hibernia or the Hibernian Column, and Ultonia the Immortal. According to the agreements between the Irish Commanders and Philip V. these regiments were to remain distinctively Irish in officers and men, to enjoy all the privileges of the Spanish service, and receive the usual pay for all ranks. So much for the status of the Irish soldiers in the service of Spain.

As for the civilians of both nationalities, Irish and English, King Philip V., by a Royal Decree, April 16, 1701, granted to these refugees freedom to live, trade, and acquire property in the Spanish dominions, and promised them protection of their persons and property. These concessions, however, could only be enjoyed by those English and Irish Catholics who had married Spaniards or had been ten years resident in Spain.

This well-intentioned decree conferred a real benefit on Catholics of English nationality, but threatened the ampler privileges which those of Irish nationality had long enjoyed in Spain. The Irish, therefore, protested against this infringement of their privileges due to the inconsiderate mention of them in conjunction with the English. Narcissus Lynch, an Irishman, resident in the city of Seville, drew up a petition in his own name and in the name of all the Irish resident in Seville, Puerto de Santa Maria, Malaga and other maritime ports of Spain They represented the intolerable position in which the new decree would put Irishmen who did not fulfil the prescribed conditions. It was impossible for them to return to Ireland, where their countrymen were crushed and persecuted like slaves by the English. It was to escape that very slavery that they had forsaken their homes and sought an asylum under the Kings of Spain. On this account, and on account of the well-known fact that the Irish were originally Spaniards,[1] and on account of the many decrees, ancient and modern, down to the last one of King Charles II., dated May 11, 1680, which declared that the Irish were deservedly accounted Spaniards and held to be such, they prayed that these former decrees should be observed, that the Irish should continue to be accounted Spaniards and that they should continue to enjoy the exemptions, immunities and privileges which

[1] *Por la notoriedad de ser originarios Españoles.* This claim, based on early Irish traditions, was continually urged by the Irish in their international negotiations with Spain from the 16th century onwards. It was admitted by successive Spanish kings and popularized by learned historians like Mariana.

all the other subjects of His Catholic Majesty enjoyed. This petition had the desired effect. Philip V. in a decree published in Madrid, June 28, 1701, ordered that all the privileges and graces granted to the Irish resident in Spain by the letters and decrees of his predecessors should be maintained, and that the decree of April 16, 1701, should not be held to interfere with them, even though they did not fulfil either of the two above-mentioned conditions.

A question arose in the year 1718 as to whether the Irish were included in the designation of "subjects of England." King Philip V. had issued orders for reprisals and embargoes on vessels belonging to subjects of England, and some minor officials wished to extend these words so as to include the Irish. To this unwarranted interpretation the Irish merchants objected, and appealed to the King. They recalled to his mind the various privileges that his predecessors had granted to the Irish on account of their having been originally from Spain (*por ser originarios de estos Reynos*), especially in regard to holding political and military offices; and they represented to him that the merchants of the same nation should also be treated and favoured with distinction. Wherefore they prayed him to confirm by royal decree all the privileges, immunities and exemptions they had hitherto enjoyed, so that in future they should never be molested under pretext of contraband, reprisals or anything else, whether Spain happened to be at peace or at war with England or any other Power.[1]

The answer of King Philip V. to this appeal is contained in the decree dated S. Lorenzo el Real (*i.e.*, the Escurial), October 23, 1718, which ordered that none of the Irish Catholics, then or henceforward, domiciled or resident in the Spanish dominions of Europe should be comprehended in the reprisals and embargoes ordered to be executed on the ships, wares and other effects belonging to subjects of England, that they should not be molested in their persons under pretext of such reprisals, and that if they had suffered any loss of property on this occasion full restitution should be made—*que tal es mi voluntad. Yo el Rey.*

The Irish in Spain objected even to being called foreigners (*extrangeros*). In a declaration drawn up by several Irishmen in the year 1766 they state that, "being jealous of the favours with which His Catholic Majesty has distinguished the Irish, on account of their having originally come from Spain in ancient times (*como antiguos originarios de estos Reynos*), from all other nations, not

[1] *Que para en ningun tiempo, ya sea de paz, ó de guerra con la Inglaterra, ú otra qualquier Potencia, no se les moleste con el pretexto de contrabando, represalia ú otro alguno.*

only in the Royal Armies, as is well known, but also in all other careers, they have refused to allow themselves to be accounted foreigners (*han resistido el ser tenidos por extrangeros*)."

This question became practical again in the year 1791, when royal orders were issued for the formation of Padrones of the foreigners (*extrangeros*) settled in Spain. Three Irishmen, resident at Cadiz—Edward Murphy, Henry Dowell and John Walsh—were summoned by the Commissioner of their ward to register as foreigners and take the oaths of fidelity and allegiance. On the understanding that in the peculiar circumstances of the case the word foreigners (*extrangeros*) was to be taken in an extensive sense so as to embrace all persons not born in the Spanish dominions they agreed to give their names and places of residence, but in doing so they declared expressly that this act of theirs was not to be taken as in any way prejudicing the extraordinary privileges and prerogatives formerly granted them publicly by the Catholic kings—viz., that the Irish were to be accounted real Spaniards and subjects of His Majesty and to be treated as such (*para ser tratados y reputados como verdaderos Españoles y subditos de su Majestad*).

When, however, the Commissioner wished to exact from them the oath of fidelity and allegiance, in the same way as it was exacted from the foreigners of all other nations, these Irishmen addressed three several memorials to the Governor of Cadiz, in which they argued that as this oath was not exacted from native Spaniards they (the Irish) could not but remind him that by virtue of the singular prerogatives and privileges which the Catholic Irish enjoyed in Spain in accordance with the Royal Letters dated Madrid, June 28, 1701, and S. Lorenzo el Real, October 23, 1718, the Irish have been treated like native Spaniards in every respect, and that by the mere fact of their declaring themselves resident they put themselves under those very obligations of fidelity and allegiance to His Majesty; that this is the reason why the Irish in Spain have never formed a national body apart (*cuerpo de nacion*), nor appealed to the protection of other princes; that their arms and blazon have always been that they are subjects and vassals of the Catholic Kings, incorporated with the rest of the Spanish nation, claiming no charters or privileges other than those the native Spaniards have, the proof of which is to be found in Cadiz and all the other cities of Spain. After citing the successful protest made by the Irish in 1766 against including the Irish under the term "foreigners," they proceed:—

Wherefore it seems that in the actual circumstances they [the petitioners] have reason to hope that they shall be looked upon as true Spaniards, as has always been the custom in regard to all those Irish who have declared themselves resident

in Spain; and that, seeing that the oath of fidelity and allegiance is not exacted from Spaniards, in whom that obligation arises from nature, so neither shall it be required from the petitioners, who are Irish Catholics, equivalently Spaniards (*que son Católicos Irlandeses, igualmente Españoles*), who by the very fact that they have declared themselves resident in Spain have imposed their own obligations on themselves. In conclusion, they pray that the entry made in the Padron shall not prejudice their rights; that they shall in no wise be comprehended in the number of foreigners; and that neither the formality of the oath shall be exacted from them, nor any other formality to which the natives of the Spanish dominions are not subject.

This petition was referred to the Consejo Real (the Privy Council of Spain), which, after listening to the arguments of the Señor Fiscal (the Attorney-General), passed the following resolution, February 3, 1792:—

That the Catholic Irish established in these dominions shall keep and maintain the privileges which they have, by which they are made equal to native Spaniards (igualandoles á los naturales Españoles); and that the formalities of the oath, to which all other nations have been ordered to submit, shall not be exacted from the Irish, seeing that by the mere fact of their settling in Spain the Irish are accounted Spaniards and enjoy the same rights as these according to the Letters issued June 28, 1701, and October 23, 1718.

Finally, the King, Charles IV., in agreement with the resolution of the Council, published a Royal Decree at a meeting of the Supreme Council of Castile (March 7, 1792), in which he was pleased to declare:—

That the Irish settled in these realms shall keep and maintain the privileges granted to them by which they are made equal to the native Spaniards, and that no formalities or oaths shall be exacted from the Irish which are not exacted from native Spaniards, seeing that by the fact of their establishing themselves in these realms the Irish are reputed Spaniards and enjoy the same rights according to the Letters that have been issued in their favour.

The privileges enjoyed by the Irish abroad continued down to the Restoration of the Bourbons at the end of the French Revolutionary wars. That Revolution had been the enemy of privilege, yet the Irish both in Spain and France had maintained their age-long privileges, at least in part, during the whole of the Revolutionary era; and the exiled sovereigns of both countries had pledged themselves to revive these privileges in the event of their restoration. But what the Revolution had spared, fell a victim to England's hatred. When Louis XVIII. of France wished to carry out his promise of 1792, England, through her fitting agent Castlereagh, gave him to understand that she would not tolerate any restoration of an Irish Brigade in France, and forced the weak monarch to break his plighted word.

In Spain the same influence was active, and the same thing happened. The famous Irish regiments, Irlanda, Hibernia and Ultonia disappeared as distinct corps on the 1st of June, 1818—"on the incredible plea," says the Hispano-Irish Count de Clonard, in his History of the Spanish Army, "that it bore a foreign name; and yet they left the regiment of Savoy and the modern formations of the Imperial Alexander and of Valency, without taking into consideration such a palpable contradiction or the fact that posterity would brand the authors of the suppression as inconsistent, ungrateful and unjust in dealing thus with a corps His Majesty had pledged his word of honour to regard as one of the most ancient Spanish regiments."

For the attitude of the United States of America at the period referred to, it is sufficient here to quote the testimony of an Englishman, the Translator of *Travels in North America in the Years* 1780, 1781, 1782[1]:—

> An Irishman, the instant he sets foot on American ground, becomes *ipse facto* an American; this was uniformly the case during the whole of the late war [viz., the war of Independence]. While Englishmen and Scotchmen were regarded with jealousy and distrust, even with the best recommendation of zeal and attachment to their cause; a native of Ireland stood in need of no other certificate than his dialect; his sincerity was never called in question; he was supposed to have a sympathy of suffering, and every voice decided, as if intuitively, in his favour. Indeed their conduct in the late Revolution amply justified this favourable opinion; for while the Irish immigrant was fighting the battles of America by sea and land, the Irish merchants, particularly at Charleston, Baltimore and Philadelphia, laboured with indefatigable zeal and at all hazards, to promote the spirit of enterprise, to increase the wealth and maintain the credit of the country; their purses were always open, and their persons devoted to the common cause. On more than one imminent occasion Congress owed their existence, and America possibly her preservation, to the fidelity and firmness of the Irish.

JOHN MACERLEAN.

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[1] *Travels in North America in Years* 1780, 1781, 1782, by the Marquis de Chastelleux, one of the forty members of the French Academy, serving under the Count of Rochambeau. Translated from the French by an English Gentleman, who resided in America at that period, with notes by the Translator. (Dublin, 1787, vol. ii., pp. 36-38 n.).

II.—In the Future.

Since Mr. Horgan's article on "Ireland and World Contact" appeared in Studies for March, discussion has been sustained in the Irish Press by letter and otherwise on a variety of subjects, but not on the subject of his article, not even to question his statement that "freedom of international communication . . . . is amongst the most imperative and pressing of the many imperative and pressing needs which confront us in this time of reconstruction." "Ireland," writes Mr. Horgan, "must re-establish direct intercourse and direct trading with foreign countries. It is utterly idle to hope that the English government will assist in any such project. The whole tendency and tradition of English policy in Ireland is against such a course." To which it may be well to add that there may be projects in the air in further development of the policy of "shutting us off from the world and making us the servant of England's needs." A few hours before writing this I have read what seems to be the official announcement of a project to build "a new western port for Ireland" in a place without a name, where there is no railway, no town, not even a village; no industries, no industrial population, where every consignment of Irish goods for export would have to pay a heavy transport tariff—in short, a new naval station—while the seaport towns and their industrial populations are to be left to shift for themselves.

More remarkable than the silence in the Press is the apparent insensibility of the commercial people. The natural inference is that Irish commerce is dominated by those who have a vested interest in "shutting us off from the world and making us the servant of England's needs." A statistical inquiry on this point might lead to some enlightenment.

But what prompts me to write now is the main proposal offered by Mr. Horgan as an initial remedy for Ireland's economic isolation, the proposal for "the establishment of Irish Trade Commissioners, or Consuls General, in the principal trade centres and capitals of the world." As a supplement to that proposal, I ask attention for a suggestion which I have often put forward in private discussion since the establishment of the National University.

Section 10, sub-section 2, of the Irish Universities Act, 1908, reads as follows:—

> The council of any county or county borough in Ireland may assist, by means of exhibitions, scholarships, bursaries, payment of fees, *or otherwise*, any students at any university in Ireland who are ordinarily resident in their county or borough who satisfy the council that they are qualified to profit by university instruction and are in need of assistance, and who also satisfy such tests of ability as may be

prescribed by the university; and may also place any sums at the disposal of any university in Ireland or any college thereof, to be applied for any educational purposes which the council may consider will benefit their county or borough, being purposes for which moneys provided by Parliament under this Act may be applied.

It is further provided that :—

The amount raised by the council of a county or county borough in any year for the purpose shall not exceed the amount which would be produced by a rate of one penny in the pound, or such higher rate as the council of the county or borough, with the consent of the Local Government Board, may fix.

Under these provisions it is clearly possible to institute Continuation Studentships in Commerce, in the subject of international commerce, tenable by students of a certain proficiency in certain appropriate subjects, and conditional on residence in selected places under the direction of approved persons, also conditional on the presentation of periodical detailed reports from each student on the work upon which he has been employed. Moreover, the Universities are competent to accept and apply as aforesaid endowments provided by individuals or groups of persons.

It is needless to enlarge at this stage on the possibilities offered by this plan of endowment for the development of trade relations between Ireland and other countries. The plan is meant to supplement rather than supersede Mr. Horgan's scheme of Consuls General. It is meant also to suggest a partial solution of one of "the two serious difficulties" he foresees (p. 41)—the difficulty of financing the general scheme.

Eoin MacNeill.

REVIEWS.

Biography.

CHIEF AND TRIBUNE : Parnell and Davitt. By M. M. O'Hara. Dublin : Maunsel. 1919. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

THIS book deals with one of the most momentous and interesting periods in Irish history. Linking together the dramatic and totally different personalities of Parnell and Davitt, Mr. O'Hara re-tells in a clear and interesting way the story of the great social revolution which emancipated the Irish peasant and nearly liberated the Irish people. But, as one might imagine, it is Parnell who really dominates the scene, and we think that the book would have gained both in strength and purpose had it treated the Parnell movement as a whole without the limitations imposed by a conjoint biographical history of its two chief actors. It must be said at once that it sheds no new light on either character, nor will it supplant the late Mr. Barry O'Brien's excellent life of Parnell nor Davitt's own voluminous writings. It deals, no doubt, in more detail with the squalid story of the O'Shea liaison as set out in that woman's own sordid revelations, but even here it adds nothing to what was already known. Nevertheless the book is well written, and will be read by Irishmen with interest and profit.

The contrast between Parnell and Davitt is one of the most extraordinary in Irish history. Parnell, aristocrat, statesman, egotist, realist ; Davitt, peasant, demagogue, unselfish, idealist. It was inevitable that two such men could only act together for a temporary purpose and a limited time. In nothing were they more different than in their mental attitude towards England. From the beginning Parnell's mind was imbued with a deep, relentless racial distrust. " These English," he said to his brother John when still at school, " despise us because we are Irish ; but we must stand up to them. That's the way to treat the Englishman—stand up to him." Twenty years later we find the schoolboy's

sentiments translated into political speech. Speaking on St. Patrick's Day, 1883, he said :—

> I do not depend upon the good wishes of any section of the English. Some people [and this was a rap at Davitt] desire to rely on the English democracy. They look for a future movement amongst the English democracy. But I have never known any important section of any country which has assumed the government of another country to awaken to the real necessities of the position until compelled to do so. Therefore I say : Do not rely upon any English party. Do not rely even upon the great English democracy, however well disposed they may be towards your claims. But rely upon yourselves, upon the great power which you have in every industrial centre in England and Scotland, upon the devotion of the sea-divided Gael, whether it be under the Southern Cross or beyond the wide Atlantic. But above all, rely upon the devotion and determination of our people on the old sod at home.

Davitt, on the other hand, hated the injustice of England, not the English people themselves, and beginning as a Fenian, he ended as a labour leader. Between them these men fashioned the Land League, and before it the Irish land system fell with a crash ; but in an Irish Parliament they would have been diametrically opposed. Parnell was the greater statesman, but Davitt was the nobler man. Re-reading their strange and moving story, one is struck again and again by the analogies with to-day. Irish history certainly repeats itself with a vengeance. One reads of Parnell at Wexford in 1881 ridiculing Mr. Gladstone as the pretended champion of the rights of every nation except those of the Irish nation, and declaring he was glad the masquerading knight errant had been obliged to take off his mask and reveal himself as a man "prepared to carry fire and sword into your homesteads unless you humbly abase yourselves before him." In those days it was the Turk and not the Prussian, Bulgaria, and not Belgium, that furnished the English statesman's text. But the methods in Ireland were the same, as is evidenced by this passage from Mr. O'Hara's description of Forster's regime :—

> Meetings of the Land League were proclaimed and suppressed, and on such occasions there was a tremendous display of police and military force. The city police were all eyes and ears. The country police made cases on the most trivial pretexts. If a known Leaguer looked hard at a constable he was hauled before the magistrates. If he looked away from him significantly he was hauled before them likewise. If a person laughed while passing a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary he was prosecuted. If he whistled in a policemen's presence he was prosecuted. If he did not move away fast enough when ordered he was prosecuted. If he moved away too fast, he was pursued, captured, and had to answer for his offence, whatever it was. This on the face of it looks like an amusing exaggeration of the system. It is the bare truth.

Mr. O'Hara need not seek to justify his illustrations ; for most

of them could find a parallel in modern conditions. We wish we could share his optimism when he states that "the Irish have won, and won finally, not only on the land question, but on the question of self-government as well." We are inclined to think that this statement was written before 1914. Parnell was nearer the mark when he said in 1885: "They will either have to grant to Ireland the complete right to rule herself, or they will have to take away from us the share—the sham share—in the English constitutional system which they extended to us at the Union, and govern us as a Crown Colony. By the adoption of either we should ultimately win, and perhaps win a larger and heavier stake than we otherwise should." Mr. O'Hara deals with the difficult and tangled story of the Parnell Split in a clear and judicial manner. He is not a partisan, neither is he afraid to state his conclusions, and both sides suffer impartially. He has not raked the embers to a blaze, but he gives us much food for sadness and for thought. The book ends with Parnell's death; but we should have liked, if only in an appendix, some account of Davitt's after career and a quotation from that moving political document—his will. By way of smaller criticism we may note that the book contains no index and several irritating misprints. Neither print nor paper are up to Messrs. Maunsel's usual standard.

JOHN J. HORGAN.

LIFE OF AUGUSTIN DALY. By Joseph Francis Daly. New York: Macmillan. 1917. $4.00.

WHAT is lacking in this book is the personal note. Daly seems to have been a very interesting man, yet we only catch cold glimpses of him as he moves through his innumerable theatrical enterprises. It is a story of artistic struggle coldly set forth by a lawyer, almost as it were a chancery affidavit. It will attract few to the career of theatrical managership. There are many "ups," but the "downs" are appalling. Daly made fortunes, lost them again, and was finally saved from financial ruin by that greatest of artistic disasters, the vogue of the musical comedy, the reign of flat, beastly stupidity. And this after he had come near to do for New York what with resources immeasurably less the Abbey Theatre has done for our country, set up a native stage. For several decades "Daly's" came to have a position in New York something like the Français in Paris. Shakespeare and old English comedy, intermingled with modern American plays, were its staple, just as the Français produces Molière and Corneille, and also gives a place to the modern French

dramatist. Like the Français and like the Abbey, it suffered from the emigration of its leading actors in search of star salaries. Its greatest name, Ada Rehan, however, remained faithful throughout. Yet on the whole Daly's great effort failed, or rather left no lasting result. It is difficult to appraise artistic matters at such a distance, but in this, as in much of American art, one seems to see too great a dependence on Europe, living and dead. Even Shakespeare is a dangerous ally for the theatre of a new country. Translations of contemporary German plays (which usually succeeded) and of contemporary French ones (which, being too subtle for translation, usually failed) were, if possible, worse. One suspects that in matters artistic America needs a "Sinn Fein" movement.

A. E. CLERY.

Classics.

LES PROCEDES D'ART DE TACITE DANS LES "HISTOIRES." Par Edmond Courbaud, Professeur adjoint à la Sorbonne. Paris: Hachette. 1918. 3 fr. 50.

A NEW French book on Tacitus must inevitably suggest comparison with Gaston Boissier's "Tacite." M. Courbaud feels the difficulty, and in his introduction regrets that Boissier never wrote in full on the art of Tacitus. We need not share the regret, for M. Courbaud brings to his task not merely the great gifts of sympathy, imagination and a literary sense, which we associate with his predecessor's name, but something of even greater value. He has none of that dilettanteism which (so at least the present writer feels) prevented Boissier from ever becoming more than an admirable *causeur* on Roman topics. The present book is thoroughly scientific. M. Courbaud evidently knows Tacitus as few have known him; not merely in detail, though there is plenty of detail in these pages, but as a whole in his relation to literature and thought. Modern researches have also been laid under contribution, and we find references to almost all the French and English scholars who have written on the subject. German scholarship is less well represented. Mommsen is, of course, quoted; but neither Norden nor Leo are mentioned; and this is all the more to be regretted, since nothing finer has been written in praise of Tacitus than Norden's analysis of his literary genius ("*Die Antike Kunstprosa*," p. 321-343). However, M. Courbaud has so much to give us of his own that we can well overlook these omissions.

The thesis of the book is that Tacitus, an orator trained in the Roman schools of rhetoric, but also an artist, and above all a

pictorial artist, evolved a style and a conception of history, both adapted to his special temperament and at variance with the accepted canons of Roman literature. This achievement M. Courbaud rightly holds to be a mark of genius, and he has little difficulty in refuting the arguments by which M. Fabia and other critics have sought to deny the importance of Tacitus as writer and as thinker. The peculiar value of the book is that, by confining his study to the "Histories," M. Courbaud has shown with extraordinary definiteness the stages which mark the development of his author's style and method. In connection with the influence of contemporary rhetoric he reminds us (pp. xiii. to xvii.) that the "Histories" were almost certainly read aloud in "auditoria" before their final publication, and to illustrate this influence he refers especially to the use of the prologue (pp. 1-30), with which he contrasts the prologue to the earlier "Agricola" and the later "Annals," to the psychological value of the speeches, as contrasted with those of Livy (pp. 199-217), and to the "modernity" of the style (pp. 263-271).

But what is it which makes the greatness and the originality of Tacitus? It is in his answer to this question that M. Courbaud is at his best. Not a talent for narrative—we have here an excellent contrast between the methods of Tacitus and those of Plutarch in the use of the same material (pp. 61-98)—nor yet a genius for historical truth (once more a comparison with Suetonius). It is as a painter of scenes and a student of human psychology that Tacitus is great, and M. Courbaud has a wonderful lot of information to give as to the gradual development of these two gifts. We seem to see the mind of Tacitus at work on his material. Thucydides may have been a greater historical thinker, and at times a more faultless artist. But the power of Tacitus is great, and this book lays its secrets bare. We have no space for detail, but must cite as a model of literary criticism the concluding pages (235-285), where, as the chief element in style, M. Courbaud analyses the use and deliberate abuse by Tacitus of the Roman period and its component clauses. Teachers of Latin composition will learn much from this penetrating study.

A. G.

VIRGIL AND LUCRETIUS. Passages translated by William Stebbing, Hon. Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford. London: Longmans. 1917. Pp. 148. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

"The best in this kind are but shadows." The difficulty of translating poetry is proverbial, especially the poetry of a tongue so

different form our present modes of speech as Latin is. Once the vase is broken much of the fragrance of the precious ointment must be lost. Hard as it is to transfer any of the spirit of the original to another language in prose, it may be questioned whether the translation can possibly be poetry. Can a poem be a translation? Mr. Stebbing has got over some of this difficulty by making his verse translations not translations in the real sense, but paraphrases and amplifications. Much of his work is not as close to the original as Johnson's and Pope's imitations of Juvenal and Horace. The episode of Orpheus and Eurydice, for example, which Virgil tells in less than 80 lines, has 222 lines in Mr. Stebbing's translation. The single line "*Sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt*" appears in this form :—

> There is a spirit immortal that mounts up on high,
> Yet reaches longing hands back to hopes left to die;
> There are things that are tears; there are tears that are things;
> There are tears that are water, and tears that are wings!

It will be seen thus that the title of the book is misleading. There are twelve extracts from Virgil and ten from Lucretius, a few being short passages, but most of considerable length. The extracts are well chosen for interest and beauty. Some are more closely translated than others; the majority contain as much of the translator's own as of the original poet's. The form used nearly all through is the rhymed couplet.

Though, as we have said, Mr. Stebbing makes his task easier by not tying himself down to mere translation, the result can hardly be called a success. Much of his verse has that vague sense of unreality which we usually associate with poor translations. He is best when he is not translating at all. Here is his translation of some well-known lines in the Sixth Book of the Aeneid :—

> "Easy," replied the Sibyl, "the descent
> To Avernus; welcome all thither bent;
> Dis shuts none out; the task is, when the taste
> For sunshine revives, measure back the waste
> Wooded wilderness that Cocytus holds
> In its innumerable black-slime folds.
> What hopes for mortals flesh-clogged to retrace
> Their way! A few by Jupiter's good grace,
> Or saints on earth, with blood Divine to aid,
> Of brief sojourn there stepping-stones have made
> To the skies. ——"
>
> (Aeneid, VI., ll. 126 ff)

As a specimen of his free translation we give (from the Praise of Italy in the Second Book of the Georgics) :—

> But she has titles, nobler far, to praise.
> Hers the seed-bed, harvest, ever have been
> Of men, fighters, hardened, sharp, and keen,
> Bred north and south, east and west, with, from Rome,
> Chiefs to lead forth, and bring them victors home.
> Band of mighty Shades! Ah! mightiest Thou
> Who schoolest the insolent Hindoo now,
> How weak is strength, valour no better than
> Cowardice, when our Caesar leads the van!
>
> (Georgics, II., ll. 167 ff.).

As may be seen from the above extracts the metre is far from pleasing. Such lines as: "And on wooded heights leaves waved in still air," " Fruitfulness everywhere, all things good," " Closed his eyes on light, younger than are you," " Chickens ruffle spread-wings as at a foe, Threatening trespassers things they might do," reveal little trace of iambic rhythm. And such lines abound. Indeed, the absence of rhythm often makes these translations mere prose.

Comparison with the originals compels these criticisms. But those who have not Virgil's golden phrases on their lips and the music of his hexameters in their ears may find many pleasing passages in this volume. The lines quoted do not, of course, give the author all his due. It must be said, too, that as the more vigorous portions of Lucretius lend themselves better to effective paraphrase the later extracts in the book are the best. And Lucretius loses less translated into prosaic verse than Virgil. When all is said, such translations are made no doubt chiefly for the pleasure the task gives to the translator, and it is not for the critic to complain. Besides, has it not been said, " *In magnis et voluisse sat est* "?

H. A. J.

Fiction.

DINNY OF THE DOORSTEP. By K. F. Purdon. Dublin: The Talbot Press. 1918. 6*s.* net.

This is a loving and lovable study of the life of children in a Dublin slum. Miss Purdon contrives to make something very touching of Dinny and Brigeen and old Mrs. Mollaly, and the poor woman who brought Dinny into the world in such wretched circumstances. It ought to be a dreary and an ugly tale because of the conditions amid which it is set; instead, it has charm and beauty, because Miss Purdon sees with eyes of love and laughter and compassion.

and, as is so true of the dreadful Dublin slums, God is not forgotten in them. There is always charity and tenderness and the brave beauty of childhood. Someone said of the cellar-dwellers in London in a terrible sentence: "They are in the grave without the peace of the grave." But in Mrs. Mollaly's cellar there was room for all the humanities and for celestial beings as well. It is this compassion and even gaiety which make the tragic tale of Dinny an idyll. There is nothing grinding about the story, although it hurts to think that children can know such misery. Ruth, who has to play amateur Providence to the children, is very closely observed: she has just the cocksureness of her youth and her happy condition. Her love affair makes a rather pretty relief to Dinny's sad, yet courageous, little figure. Not that Dinny would seem sad to himself. There is great gaiety of heart in such little town sparrows as he. It was very wise of Miss Purdon not to transfer Dinny and Brigeen to the County Clare when the windfall came. The book has only one fault, and it is a minor fault of artistry. Miss Purdon has a way of getting outside the story and talking as herself with an appearance of the didactic and the purposeful. This story of the Dublin slums needs no setting forth. It is a good, honest, clear-sighted book, and if it makes well-to-do people realise why the poor are discontented, it will have accomplished something. It is not charity the Dublin slums need: it is justice.

KATHARINE TYNAN.

THE BOY WHO KNEW WHAT THE BIRDS SAID. By Padraic Colum. Illustrated by Dugald Stewart Walker. New York: Macmillan. 1918. $1.50.

THE MAGIC HORSEHAIR. By James A. Wightman. Illustrated. Dublin: The Talbot Press. 1918. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

MR. Padraic Colum once bid fair to become a prince of Irish story-tellers, second only to James Stephens. Those who have read his wonderful tale of Maelshaughlinn at the Fair in *My Irish Year* will not wish to dispute this statement; and many of those who have had the rare pleasure of hearing him hold forth in person will think it does him only the barest justice. But this book of children stories will please few people. The stories are vapid things, without a trace of that imaginative gusto fairly to be expected from their author. There is no distinction of fancy or diction in them; and they are, apparently, only saved from downright badness by Mr. Colum's inability to shed the essentials of his writer's craft.

The publishers state on the wrapper that the book is based upon Irish folk-lore. Evidence for that statement appears to lie wholly in a few proper names that smack of Gaeldom scattered through its pages. Faint echoes of the brothers Grimm are more easily detected than any true Irish flavour.

The stories which make up the book are supposed to be told to a boy by various birds in gratitude for his having covered the cuckoo's mouth with his cap and so prevented the end of the world, which will come "when the bird that follows the cuckoo flies into the cuckoo's mouth." The reward seems meagre for such a notable service. But perhaps they were the sort of stories which that particular boy liked; for nothing is said to show his tastes or personality.

Mr. Wightman's boy, "Paddy Dolan," is a refreshing contrast. He is as human and as captivating as one could well ask. His seven adventures with the magic horsehair, given him by a leprechaun to work wishes with, are such as must delight any bright child or well-trained adult. There is no folk-lore about his adventures: they are straightforwardly modern and Irish, full of fresh, wholesome and unaffected fun.

Mr. Wightman is fortunate in his anonymous illustrator, whose seven drawings help the text in the proper spirit. He shows Patsy exactly the gay little scamp the stories indicate. The illustrations to *The Boy who knew what the Birds Said* are much more numerous and, technically, more accomplished. But they add nothing save, presumably, expense to the book. The head piece to the list of illustrations is an ugly thing to put in a child's hands; and the rest, like almost all modern American illustrations, have most of the faults displayed by Mr. Maxfield Parrish, and none of his merits.

Both illustrators should remember that when illustrating a child's book they ought to be specially careful not to give the lie to the text. Mr. Walker's bird on page 117 must be more like a cocatrice than the big blackbird it should have been. In the last drawing of *The Magic Horsehair* the author's "pollard willow" becomes the draughtsman's thorn; and the magic horsehair, which we are told was tied to Patsy's left thumb, appears stretched from his right fist. These are faults a child will find hard to overlook.

The print and paper of *The Boy who knew what the Birds Said* leaves nothing to be required. But *The Magic Horsehair* deserved a better paper than that to which the difficulties of the time in this country restricted the Talbot Press.

THOMAS BODKIN.

MIDAS AND SON. By Stephen McKenna. London: Methuen. 1919. 8*s.*

WHATEVER anxieties social problems cause the world in general, the novelist has reason to rejoice in them; for their multiplication multiplies the matter round which he can weave romance. What right has one man to build up a fortune altogether beyond his own needs, however widely they may be interpreted? What right has he to make that fortune out of the needs of his fellow-men? What right has he to the unearned increment, the increase in the value of his possessions due to the needs and efforts of others? What right has he to bequeath his wealth to a son who has contributed nothing to its acquisition? In his latest novel Mr. McKenna suggests all these questions. But refusing to be a philosopher, he is content to be an excellent storyteller. He offers no answers.

The novel is the tale of the life and death of a son, half English, half American, who is heir and later owner of the fortune made by his father. The fortune being of the kind which is stated in terms of income rather than of possessions carries with it none of the occupation and responsibility commonly associated with property. The hero is too intellectual not to feel that his wealth should be devoted to some use. He has an ill-defined sense of stewardship, but sees no way of exercising it effectively. Libraries and palaces at the Hague seem futile to him. He is of too nervous a temperament not to be obsessed by a nightmare of his fortune ever accumulating automatically. Travel, society, love, high life, art alike fail as anodynes to restlessness, and in the end Mr. McKenna lets his hero die with the problem unsolved. With rather too conscious art the end is placed in London in the first week of August, 1914, when it might easily have been in Belgium. The hero escapes the problem; but the problem remains behind, and it is because Mr. McKenna does no more than present it that we charge him with looking on social problems merely as matter for romance. A great novelist might have indicated the manner in which he regards the questions he raises, might offer a solution, might break his hero on the wheel of the solution if it seemed ineffectual. A great novelist might study the moulding of character by the process of events. But the character of Midas the younger is ready made from birth. Mr. McKenna has given us only a static study of character; and events, however rapidly, even breathlessly, they work, do not make a great novel of social themes.

But as a story the book is of course quite above the ordinary run of novels. The matter is fresh, the style vivid, the setting modern—at times, we might hint, ultra-modern. A defect the

book shares with some recent studies of modern life is that problem and narrative are not completely interwoven. By introducing the names of Sonia, O'Rane, Loring, and others, Mr. McKenna challenges comparison with his earlier work. Now in *Sonia* the study of the "governing classes," of their education and mentality was knit with the story. It was the story. Here the intellectual problem play divides too easily into problem and play. The craftsmanship is not so finished, the irony not so embedded in the narrative as in *Sonia*. Perhaps the speed of the story and the speed with which Mr. McKenna finds material to hand for his studies is tempting him to speed in production. Where a craftsman is skilful, it is a pity that he should not always give of his best. W. O'C.

History.

THE PILGRIMS AND THEIR HISTORY. By Roland G. Usher, Ph.D., Professor of History, Washington University, St. Louis. New York: Macmillan. 1918. $2.00.

Next year the tercentenary of the sailing of the Mayflower and of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in North America takes place, and preparations are being made to celebrate the event both in the United States and in England. To some extent consequently Professor's Usher's book may claim to make a topical appeal. But it can make much higher claims than this. It provides a very careful, sober and well-balanced account of the "Pilgrims" from the emergence of the congregation at Scrooby in Nottingham to the absorption of Plymouth by New England in 1691. The author claims that not only has he made careful use of the material available but also that no further accession of important evidence is likely.

The narrative portion of the work is well done, though the infusion of a little more life on occasions would not have been amiss. But perhaps this is a fault on the right side, especially when dealing with a subject where misleading enthusiasm on the part of an American author might be natural and even excusable. In fact one of the striking features of Professor Usher's book is the great care that is taken to avoid anachronistic interpretations. He rightly refuses to envisage the actions and statements of the Pilgrims through the spectacles of revolutionary America of a century and a half later. Whatever contribution they may have made to the development of modern Democracy—and unfortunately an investigation of this problem is not within the scope of his work—he shows clearly that their object was not to set up a new form of commonwealth based on newly discovered principles. They may have been the forerunners of modern developments, but if so

it was rather by the *fact* of their emigration and the circumstances of their daily lives than by the conscious working out and application of abstract ideas. Even the celebrated Mayflower Compact as a constitutional document is reduced by Professor Usher to its proper proportions. What they did may have pointed to the future, but in so far as they themselves were following any political system it was rather that of the past to which they had been accustomed in the Manor at Scrooby. Political Revolution was far from their thoughts.

Professor Usher is equally successful when he is drawing attention to the dominant position in the political, economic and social life of the colony exercised by the determination to found their ideal Church uncontaminated by any contact with the ungodly. It was not so much to escape religious persecution in England—and still less in Holland—that they sought refuge in North America. Their main purpose was to keep their ecclesiastical ideas pure. And it was this same dominant motive that made them so "exclusive" when they had settled down in Plymouth. How this helped to shape their whole life and destiny, and contributed to their success for two generations and to their final loss of political independence, is clearly brought out in this volume. Exaggerated hero-worship might easily have been led not to lay sufficient stress on this point, and so have conveyed a radically false conception of the historical setting of the Pilgrims.

There are a few matters in which Professor Usher's exposition is somewhat lacking in clearness, *e.g.*, in dealing with the relation of the Scrooby group to other forms of Puritanism at the time of the migration to Holland. He is, no doubt, right in insisting on the purely transitional character in the history of Puritanism of the phase represented by the Pilgrims. But though this had important consequences, more light might have been thrown on the actual nature of this phase and on its relation to the development of Puritanism as a whole. A good map of the Massachusetts coast would have been a distinct boon to the ordinary reader. The portion of Smith's map inserted is of antiquarian interest rather than of practical use.

J. M. O'S.

BYE-WAYS OF STUDY. By Darrell Figgis. Dublin: The Talbot Press. 1918. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

OF the four essays assembled in this volume the most arresting is that entitled: "For Demand of Peace: or else Not," and with it—inasmuch as it occupies 44 out of 108 pages—I mean to deal in the space at my disposal. This essay is heralded by the publishers as "alone sufficient to secure the attention of all interested in Irish history." Mr. Figgis seems to imagine that the two documents—

or rather the two variants of the proposals made by the Earl of Tyrone to Queen Elizabeth—have lain neglected, and have not hitherto attracted attention; but they have been used by several scholars, including the late Sir John T. Gilbert, Mr. P. S. O'Hegarty, Rev. Dr. Corcoran, S.J., and others.

A difficulty presents itself in regard to the source or sources of the "Articles" as calendared in the State Papers, but it is tolerably evident that one was evolved from the other. Probably the original was drafted by Father Peter Nangle, O.F.M., under the dictation of Hugh O'Neill; it seems likely that O'Neill himself did not set forth on paper the "Articles." His memorable interviews with the Earl of Essex, on the 7th and 8th of September, 1599, would have been the opportunity to present the written Articles, or heads of agreement; but from what is recorded by reliable historians the terms were set forth by word of mouth. Essex left Ireland on September 26, having appointed Sir William Warren to confer with O'Neill, and the conference took place on October 18. Apropos of these incidents, Mr. Figgis stated that "the only English functionaries who saw O'Neill during the autumn and winter of 1599 were Geoffrey Fenton, the Irish Secretary, who saw him once, early in December, and Sir William Warren, who saw him several times." This statement is inaccurate, inasmuch as several other English functionaries saw O'Neill during this period, including the Earl of Ormond, Sir George Bourchier, Thomas Leicester (Lieutenant to Lord Delvin), and Matthew Archbold, as well as Sir John Harrington, who gives us a delightful account of Warren's visit to O'Neill in his *Nugae Antiquae*.

Mr. Figgis suggests that one draft of the Articles was written by "O'Neill or his secretary, Henry Harrington." This suggestion is not to be deduced from any known source. As stated before, it is unlikely that O'Neill himself ever penned the Articles. Nor is the suggestion more likely that they were penned by O'Neill's secretary, "Henry Harrington"—whose existence is unknown. I take it, however, that "Harrington" is a clerical error for "Hovengton" or "Hovenden," as O'Neill's secretary was Henry Hovenden.

From Sir William Warren's letter to Cecil, on December 24, 1599, it appears that a copy of O'Neill's Articles had been procured "underhand" by him, "through a gentleman of the Pale," surmised to have been Thomas Barnewall. Warren also tells Cecil that "these Articles were written and devised by a Scot"—not by "Ascot," as given in the printed Calendar, an erroneous transcription that has been expanded by the Editor of the Calendar to "one Ascote." A fortnight later, on January 8, 1600, Sir Geoffrey Fenton sent Cecil another copy of these remarkable "Articles," and

of O'Neill's "Proclamation." He adds: "There are more Articles, but these are all I could carry away, and I sent your worship all not long since."

Mr. Figgis writes: "It is certain that it was not a Catholic (nor for that matter an Irishman) who used the words '*Roman* Catholic Church,' or wrote the whole phrase in which those words appear." I cannot assent to this view, because many contemporary Catholic writers did use the words "Roman Catholic."

But these remarks are not intended to minimise the value of Mr. Figgis's stimulating essay, and are certainly not written in any unfriendly spirit. On the contrary, they are intended to draw attention to a valuable little book, written under very adverse conditions, and yet carefully documented.

W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

By way of epilogue or postscript to this review, it may be stated—and the statement is not generally known—that, between the years 1599 and 1603, Sir Robert Cecil, the trusted minister of Queen Elizabeth, employed no fewer than twelve agents to "remove" O'Neill. These twelve tools were:—William Atkinson (a renegade English priest, who attempted to poison O'Neill "through some poisoned hosts"), John Daniel, James Blake, Captain Lee, Thomas Walker, Henry *og* O'Neill, Lord Dunsany, Sir L. Esmond, Thomas Douglas, Richard Combus, John Amyas and William Udall. Some of the apologists for Cecil deny that he actually counselled or directly countenanced the assassination of the Earl of Tyrone; but in each of the twelve cases there is most ample proof, and all with the knowledge and approval of Elizabeth herself. The following extract from Cecil's letter to Combus (one of the twelve agents) sufficiently brands the name of the astute Secretary with eternal infamy:—"Be you assured of this, that I think it lawful to deal for the death of a proscribed and assured rebel, and that whatever I give my word for I will perform, though I have to sell the shirt off my back. Therefore proceed in the matter as you please . . . . . and *be you assured of this that, if by this draught Tyrone be slain or taken, there shall be paid to your disposition* 5,000 *English angels.*"

W. H. G. F.

Philosophy.

MYSTICISM AND LOGIC AND OTHER ESSAYS. By Bertrand Russell, M.A., F.R.S. London: Longmans. 1918. Pages 234. Price 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

THIS interesting volume of essays will serve as a timely reminder of Mr. Bertrand Russell's achievements in theoretic philosophy which should not be obscured by adventures in the practical assertion of natural rights. Two chapters are reprinted from his *Philosophical Essays*, and concerning one of these, "The Free Man's Worship" (an attempt at a restatement of Stoicism, written in 1902), Mr. Russell makes a pathetic confession. "I feel less convinced than I did then," he says, "of the objectivity of good and

evil." But "the general attitude towards life" is "the one which must be adopted in times of stress and difficulty by those who have no dogmatic religious beliefs, if inward defeat is to be avoided." This championship of a cheerless creed is characteristic of the writer's disinterested love of truth. But the more one reads Mr. Russell, the more does one perceive his fundamental assumption that he is not as the rest of men. Obviously he conceives himself to be living in a passionless presuppositionless vacuum; and he regards as his own peculiar function to pick to pieces other men's beliefs and to build up his own conclusions step by step with the precision of the multiplication table. Mr. Russell is one of the few living rationalists in the strict sense of the word; and that is why the penury of his philosophy and the deficiency of his psychology are so transparent. "The kernel of the scientific outlook," he tells us, "is the refusal to regard our own desires, tastes and interests as affording a key to the understanding of the world." There is to be nothing but ratiocination, preferably expressed in symbols. Hence "the elimination of ethical considerations from philosophy is both scientifically necessary and an ethical advance." In fact, "philosophy is the science of the possible." Therefore, when Mr. Russell informs us that "human ethical notions . . . are essentially anthropocentric" and tries to prove this by "a consideration of the way in which ethical notions arise," he is not writing "philosophy," and would presumably repudiate the relevancy of the retort that philosophical notions are proved to be subjective by their genetic history. The real difficulty in discussing Mr. Russell lies in his failure to tell us when he is talking philosophy and when he is an ordinary man tattooed with postulates and intuitions.

Perhaps the clearest indication that he is writing philosophy is provided by paradoxical or unconsciously humourous assertions. Thus we are told (p. 129) that "the real man . . . is really a series of momentary men, each different one from the other," since "a true theory of matter requires a division of things into time-corpuscles as well as into space-corpuscles." Yet on turning back to p. 118 we find that Mr. Russell avoids "the assumption that points are themselves entities in the physical world," and on p. 22 we are told that "the felt difference of quality between past and future is not an intrinsic difference, but only a difference in relation to us; to impartial contemplation, it ceases to exist." Mr. Russell may be a very keen analytic logician; but he throws no light whatever on the spaciness of space and the timeness of time. A fact which is further evidenced by his definition of motion, designed as "a liberation from antique prejudices" (p. 84): "Motion consists merely in the fact that bodies are sometimes in one place

and sometimes in another, and that they are at intermediate places at intermediate times." A sentence which accurately conveys Mr. Russell's attitude to reality.

I have confined myself to emphasising the shortcomings of these essays; and indeed it would be possible to prolong this review by criticising technical details of the writer's epistemology and logistics. But this captious procedure would give a false idea of a most helpful and thoughtful book. Mr. Russell is always suggestive and stimulating, never soporific and soothing; whether the reader agrees or differs, he is always sure of learning much. For Mr. Russell's analytic clearness and mathematical precision are always inspiring. He has no padding, no rhetoric; he says what he has to say simply and directly. And many of the subjects of which he treats are precisely those in which Scholastic Philosophy is least developed.

A. J. R.

THE ORGANISATION OF THOUGHT, EDUCATIONAL AND SCIENTIFIC. By A. N. Whitehead, Sc.D., F.R.S. London: Williams and Norgate. 1917. Pages 228. Price 6*s.* net.

IN conjunction with his collaborator Mr. Bertrand Russell, Dr. Whitehead has shown himself to be one of the most subtle and profound of philosophical mathematicians. In his *Introduction to Mathematics* and in this present volume of essays he has proved that he is equally capable of bringing a rather abstruse subject within reach of the lay mind. The eight essays in *The Organisation of Thought* are equally interesting to the teacher and to the philosopher, for they deal with pedagogy, epistemology and cosmology. Of Dr. Whitehead's views on the teaching of mathematics and allied subjects the present reviewer finds it hard to write dispassionately, for the simple reason that he is in entire agreement. Dr. Whitehead insists that all ideas should be correlated with concrete experience and real life, whether the subject be mathematics, geography, drawing or history. Hence he objects to cramming youngsters with theorems to which they give a merely notional assent and which they will never use; most of these being conundrums capable of being set in examinations. Moreover, "the goal is not philosophical analysis but the power of use," a very sane, practical admission from a specialist who refuses to ride his own hobby.

The last three essays deal with the relations of science and metaphysics, the logical analysis of some scientific concepts and the principle of relativity. This last subject is not very well treated. The Lorentz-Einstein transformation is introduced rather cum-

brously, and while the analysis is clear it hardly rises above the physical text-book level. (Also there is a slip in the two formulae on p. 211). The philosophical and psychological difficulties of Einstein's conception of simultaneity and time are untouched. But altogether this is an excellent and stimulating book, helpful to all who are interested in the teaching or the philosophy of mathematics.

A. J. R.

QUESTIONS THÉOLOGIQUES DU TEMPS PRÉSENT. *I. Questions de guerre.* Par A. Michel, Professeur à la Faculté de Théologie de Lille. Paris : Beauchesne. 1918. Pages 289. Prix 3 fr. 50.

CHIEFLY in the form of a commentary on some questions of the Secunda Secundae of St. Thomas's Summa, M. Michel has written a very sane and thoughtful book on the Catholic view of war. It was written under difficulties, for M. Michel is—or, let us hope, was—a soldier ; and perhaps this explains why the works of the later Schoolmen are not utilised. Apart from a few "topical" pages, which will readily be pardoned in the case of a French soldier-priest, the work is written with dignity and impartiality. But there are rather surprising omissions. For instance there is no consideration of the attitude of an individual citizen towards a war of which he really knows nothing, nor is the question of conscription discussed. These and similar lacunae naturally occur in topics which French Catholics do not consider important for them. But within a compass of less than three hundred pages the author has contrived to compress a great deal of very interesting and relevant matter, illustrating not only the modernity of St. Thomas's principles but the well-balanced judgment of M. Michel himself. Reprisals, Patriotism, the Unity of the Church and War, the War and Martyrdom, the Clergy and War, War Prophecies are some of the problems considered, and ably considered by one who is not only a theological expert but who has seen war as it is.

A. J. R.

Poetry.

POEMS OF GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS. Edited with Notes by Robert Bridges, Poet Laureate. London : Milford. 1918. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

THE critics in general have been at one as to the difficulty and strangeness, the "obscurity and oddity" (his editor's words) of this new-old poet. His work has baffled their endeavours to arrive at general judgments, and the central reason for this seems to be a

curious lack of judgment on the poet's own part. Gerard Hopkins had an exquisitely refined literary sense, but it permitted him to lapse into nearly every literary fault. He was a cultivated scholar, but this did not stay him from fantastic misuse of the English language. Most delicate perceptions were associated in him with a most untrustworthy sense of fitness and proportion. His metrical notions as here expounded in an "Author's Preface," are a mixture of simplicities, unintelligibilities, and one or two illuminating suggestions. His poetry in general has—to use the words of Coventry Patmore—"the effect of veins of pure gold embedded in masses of unpracticable quartz"; and there is evidence enough that he misjudged the golden and quartzian elements and their mixtures. He is a proof (by no means the first) that a *crassa Minerva*, not a subtly-poised discernment, is the surest preserver against the misadventures of genius.

With regard to the being and doing of the author whom he introduces to the literary world Mr. Bridges is almost wholly silent. It is clear enough (indeed there are incidental evidences) that his telling of the tale of one who, besides being a poet, was a convert to Catholicism, a priest, a Jesuit, and a soul tried by severe interior struggles, would have been somewhat lacking in sympathy, and that, therefore, we may put down his reticence entirely to the credit of good feeling and discretion. The general reader, however, will probably feel somewhat impatient under the *disciplina arcani* to which he is thus subjected. We would recommend him to seek the bibliographical information he desires in the sympathetic study of the poet found in Miss K. Brégy's volume, *The Poets' Chantry*.[1]

But if the editor thus keeps his counsel as regards the life and the man, he is not silent as to the poet and the poems. There are few causes of the latter's "oddity and obscurity" which he does not touch on and exemplify. He notes the occasional bad or ludicrous rhymes, the "mixture of passages of extreme delicacy and exquisite diction with passages where, in a jungle of rough root-words, emphasis seems to oust euphony"; the erring quest of euphony itself with an outcome of mere jingle. Although thus sternly judicial, and although—as already hinted—unsympathetic to the thought and feeling of not a few poems, yet, on the other hand, he has an abiding belief in the genius of his friend and in "the rare masterly beauties that distinguish his work." After a dedication (couched,

[1] Published by Herbert V. Daniel, 1912. We understand that a memoir is in preparation by the Rev. C. Martindale, S.J. Irish readers may be reminded of Fr. Hopkins's connection with the Royal University of Ireland, during many years, as Fellow and Examiner.

oddly enough, in Latin) to the poet's aged mother, who still survives in her ninety-eighth year, he addresses Gerard Hopkins himself in a sonnet which lacks nothing of reverential affection and esteem.

It would, indeed, be difficult to find a volume which justifies so many different impressions and comments. It is chiefly, we think, in matters of form that Fr. Hopkins's poetry defies precedent and invites attack. It would be an easy, but also an ungrateful and tedious task to quote long passages or entire poems in which meaning which we fain would gather is hidden beneath a cloud-mirage of far-fetched phrases and queerly-assorted vocables, or tangled up in hard-knotted and sometimes quite insoluble syntax. Euphonious verse beguiles us over some difficult passages, but too often we are bumped over stylistic ruggednesses without the relief of any perceptible rhythm. Sometimes, too, the author's passion for verbal assonances, echoes and jingles of all kinds leads him off into oblivion of both sense and tune.

It is in this way that *Binsey Poplars* quite misses the elegiac effect intended :—

> My aspens dear, whose airy cages quelled,
> Quelled or quenched in leaves the leaping sun,
> All felled, felled, are all felled ;
> Of a fresh and following folded rank
> Not spared, not one
> That dandled a sandalled
> Shadow that swam or sank, etc. . . .
>
> Ten or twelve (only ten or twelve)
> Strokes of havoc unselve
> The sweet especial rural scene,
> Rural scene, a rural scene,
> Sweet especial rural scene.

A sort of breathless hunt after assonant monosyllables is one of this poet's amusements. Thus :—

> Let life, waned, ah, let life wind
> Off her once skeined stained veined variety
> Upon, all on two spools ; part, pen, pack
> Now her all in two flocks, two folds—black,
> White ; right, wrong ; reckon but, reck but, mind
> But these two ; etc.

This excerpt may serve also to illustrate the wilful oddities of Fr. Hopkins' grammatical constructions. So, again, instead of "end your roaming round me" he will say, "your round me roaming end" ; instead of "to my own heart" he writes, "to own my heart" (he always seems to ignore the ambiguities of

English monosyllables like "own," "part," "still," "well"). Again, in his *Andromeda* :—

> With not her either beauty's equal or
> Her injury's,

where the meaning is sufficiently guessable; or in this question, which certainly "might admit of a wide solution" :—

> What being in rank-old nature should earlier have that breath been
> That here personal tells off these heart-song powerful peals ?

In the formation of compound words Fr. Hopkins goes easily beyond all precursors in his audacity. Not merely two or three, but up to half-a-dozen elements will he juggle with. We hear of "come-back-again things," and "O-seal-that-so feature," "to heavenpie," "a fallowbootfellow," "wind-lilylocks-laced" (meaning apparently "lilylocks laced by the wind"), and a

> Tatter-tassel-tangled and dingle-a-dangled
> Dandy-hung dainty-head !

To the poet's prosodic notions we have already devoted a passing word. He provides some of his poems or else lines here and there with marks intended to help scansion and reading, and duly retained by the editor. Most readers will feel, we think, that they add bewilderment rather than elucidation. Of what use are the marks in this line :—

> And éyes, héart, what looks, what lips yet gave you a ?

Why a stressed preposition in this :—

> Her Perseus linger and leave her tó her extremes ?

On the other hand, we *should* be glad of some help towards making rhythmical such a stanza as this :—

> The Eurydice—it concerned thee, O Lord:
> Three hundred souls, O alas ! on board,
> Some sleep unawakened, all un-
> warned, eleven fathoms fallen.

Logical completeness might perhaps require that we should follow up these remarks on our poet's peculiarities of form with some notes on certain (perhaps corresponding) idiosyncracies of thought and feeling. But the quotations already made, though brief, will dispense us from any further stressing of the less admirable aspects of this volume. Its unusual merits well deserve that we should at least conclude on a note of praise. Unjust it would be not to acknowledge distinctly and illustrate—if but imperfectly—the very genuine poetic gift which shines in originality and beauty from many of these pages. The magic of expression in

some is as marked as the freakish word-play in some others. Catholic readers and critics have already noted with pleasure that some of the purest gems of Fr. Hopkins' works are crystallizations of Catholic thought and feeling. Of this kind is the longish poem, "The Blessed Virgin compared to the Air we Breathe," which is beautiful with scarcely a flawlet from beginning to end. Such, again, is the brief lyric on a nun taking the veil, entitled "Heaven —Haven":—

I have desired to go
Where springs not fail,
To fields where flies no sharp and sided hail
And a few lilies blow.

And I have asked to be
Where no storms come,
Where the green swell is in the havens dumb
And out of the swing of the sea.

Nor must we omit to notice the poems, mostly sonnets, which are an expression of deep personal sorrows, of the triumph after fierce struggle in a soul at once childlike and strong of faith and hope over anguish and despair. They are very characteristic and their painfulness and beauty are in a kind of linked proportion. Not many expressions of human suffering have been at once so poignant and so profound as the sonnet beginning, "No worst, there is none"; with its sestet:—

O the mind, mind has mountains, cliffs of fall
Frightful, sheer, no-man-fathomed. Hold them cheap
May who ne'er hung there. Nor does long our small
Durance deal with that steep or deep. Here! creep,
Wretch, under a comfort serves in a whirlwind: all
Life death does end and each day dies with sleep.

Very beautiful, with a milder beauty, are the sonnets on Patience and that entitled "In the Valley of the Elwy." They require, but they repay, more than one reading—three or four perhaps; and we fancy many generations of readers will be willing to take them and a few of their companion-pieces at that price and that valuation.

G. O'N.

A WIND UPON THE HEATH. By Nora J. Murray. Dublin: Maunsel. 1918. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

SONGS FROM DUBLIN CITY. By Ivan Adair. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1918. 1*s.* net.

FIRST SONGS. By Anthony Allen. Maunsel. 1918. 4*s.* net.

THE ROSSES, AND OTHER POEMS. By Seumas O'Sullivan. Maunsel. 1918. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

BROKEN GLORY. By Eva Gore-Booth. Maunsel. 1918. 1*s.* net.

NORA J. Murray's pretty title speaks of something easy, natural, unpretending, and these characteristics are found in her volume, though not unmingled with a somewhat luscious prettiness. It might speak of a mere naturalism—paganism of one kind or another; but this is not the case; this "wind" is not merely an idle wind, it wafts notes and odours of patriotism and religion.

Songs from Dublin City are not so different from Miss Murray's lyrics as their heading might suggest; they have little to say about Dublin or any city. They commemorate rather the writer's escape from the duresse of the streets into sylvan scenes amid which he (or she) is happy and observant. Short and slight are these pieces; but in some, such as "February" and "After Drought," delicate impressions of nature are elevated by fine spiritual touches.

Yet another collection of very brief poems is Anthony Allen's *First Songs*; they cover, however, a greater variety of moods and impressions. The influence of "A. E.," to whom the author dedicates, is perceptible in "The Inner Gleam" and some similar reveries. If these "First Songs" are indeed the utterances of a young Muse, their finish and felicity are remarkable. Later on their successors may bring us a message more definite and important than any here given us. "The Haunters" has something of the appeal which made memorable Lionel Johnson's "Dark Angel." But the prevailing character is better illustrated by "The Tryst," which we quote in full:—

> I hope the birds will sing where I am going
> As sweetly as in places left behind;
> And I shall hear their music in winds blowing
> With sad sea-surges speaking to the wind.
>
> And there'll be roses running o'er and climbing,
> And swallows twittering in the dusk of eve,
> And human laughter thrilling and bells chiming;
> Ah, then, for far-off places I'll not grieve.

But you, it may be, shall my footsteps follow,
And all your beauty paint the evening air,
And I will call your name on hill and hollow,
And you will make a tryst and I'll be there.

Seumas O'Sullivan is not, of course, a new singer. "The Rosses," which gives a title to the present booklet, has had the distinction of appearing in Monroe and Henderson's anthology, "The New Poetry." It can hardly be said that the poet has gained in strength and definiteness during the past dozen years. These few pages (only thirty-seven in all) are somewhat bewildering in the multiplicity of their topics and moods. Nor are clear and favourable estimates helped by their careless and blundering punctuation—an unfortunate drawback which they have in common with nearly all the volumes we are at present reviewing. A somewhat soulless impressionism is the note of some pieces: nor do even the "Invectives" or "Requiem" or other patriotic utterances give an impression of very deep emotion or thought. But they are far from commonplace. And one must acknowledge the charm of such a love-lyric as "Have thou no fear," or of such a pastel as "Autumnal."

"As passed by Censor" is an inscription which distinguishes *The Rosses*; not, however, from Miss Eva Gore-Booth's high-spirited little volume, *Broken Glory*. Her pages have three chief sources of inspiration—Irish political troubles, the War, and theosophist occultism. We have something like a combination of all three in some pieces such as "Dreams." Under the title "Easter Week" the poet condenses her feelings towards the Irishmen who defied England in 1916:—

Grief for the noble dead
Of one who did not share their strife
And mourned that any blood was shed,
Yet felt the broken glory of their state,
Their strange heroic questioning of fate,
Ribbon with gold the rags of this our life.

Very beautiful are the eight lines headed "Comrades," and the appealing cry of "1916." In "The Eternal Rebel," an intense realizing of the beauty and constructive force of nature has led the singer nearer to a noble religious utterance than she attains in the vague pantheism of some other pieces.

G. O'N.

Politics.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES: National, State, and Local. By William Bennett Munro, Ph.D., Professor of Municipal Government, Harvard University. New York: Macmillan. 1919. Pp. x., 648. $2.75 net.

THIS single volume deals with all the topics treated of in Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, and more besides. It is but natural that, as it comes down to a much later date than that standard work, it will be more useful to the student of administrative policy at the present day. Nearly two-thirds of its contents are assigned to issues arising out of the federal government. These are dealt with on a plan admirably clear, and in a style much less arduous than that of Bryce. Beyond these points, the substance of what is there written does not present much that is novel or striking. The tone of exposition and comment is quiet, the views well-balanced and conservative. John Marshall, Chief Justice from 1801 to 1835, was the real and effective maker and definer of the Constitution, and the spirit of the early days of the "Fathers," the dynasty of Virginia, the settled development of law and official organisation, through New England from Old England, are principal articles of Constitutional faith. This type of book is well known: we still await the new treatment of all these questions which should come from the States not infeudated to the English tradition. But of the official and State machinery, and of the party machine, we get clear if simplified description.

Much the more significant and stimulating part of the book is the second portion, somewhat more than one-third of the whole. Dr. Munro is more interested in matters akin to his teaching work, and the obvious result follows. The administration of State concerns, their wide scope and civic importance, the real independence of State power in its own comprehensive field, are well discussed and illustrated. Especially significant are such topics as initiative, referendum, and recall, with their full argumentative discussion. The doctrine of the separation of legislative and executive power, as usually interpreted, is called in question, with reference to plans of amalgamation of authority, now on foot in more than one State. The same thoroughness and freshness of treatment is found in the ample section devoted to local government; and the whole activities of an urban administration are exhibited with considerable skill and well-packed detail. The newer administrative machinery—the Commission and the City Manager, are clearly explained. A large

number of American cities have adopted one or other of these newer forms of civic control, with highly satisfactory results. The single transferable vote, applied to local administration, appears to have been devised and applied at Ashtabula, Ohio.

Dr. Munro devotes much care to estimating the "working values" of executive and legislative processes, and passes lightly over the somewhat startling weaknesses, to say the least, of the judicial side. Readers of responsible American journals and reviews, especially in the past four or five years, have had cause to think that it is on this side that American institutions are least worthy. This applies especially to State administration, or non-administration, of criminal law, and of the law affecting public utilities. There is some reason also to qualify his admiration for the exercise by the Supreme Court of the unparalleled powers which it assumed in the days of John Marshall: and it may be doubted whether that tribunal was ever fully equal to the task which it assigned to itself, or read into the Constitution.

The whole plan of treatment, with its even simplicity of style and the aid of excellent marginal notes, makes this volume an ideal manual for the student of Politics.

T. C.

BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY. Selected Speeches and Documents on British Colonial Policy, 1763-1917. Edited by Arthur B. Keith, D.C.L. 2 Vols. World's Classics. Pocket Edition. London: Milford. 1919. 2*s.* each.

The Constitution of the British Imperial Commonwealth, like that of England itself, has never been codified or reduced to a common form. It has its origin in the fortuitious developments of colonial history, and it is elastic both in nature and purpose. To trace its developments one cannot confine one's search to the statute books of the British and colonial parliaments, for many of its most illuminating and pregnant documents are to be found in the speeches and despatches of the colonial governors and ministers, and in the proceedings of the colonial and imperial conferences or conventions which have from time to time dealt with various aspects of the matter. Mr. Keith has therefore done a real and valuable service to all students of this engrossing subject by compiling a selection of speeches and documents on British colonial policy covering the period from 1763 to 1917.

He traces the growth of the system of responsible government in the British colonies, the gradual formation of powerful federa-

tions from groups of separate and rival colonies, the development of their local autonomy, and the process by which schemes of imperial federation have been laid aside in favour of the conception of the equal partnership in the empire of units retaining and developing their legislative and administrative independence. The best illustration of this development is to be found in Canada, where the modern self-governing dominion has been evolved and the stages in the evolution are most clearly marked. Like all colonial history it is easy to elucidate because it is comparatively recent—there is no doubt about its origins, the sequence of cause and effect is beyond dispute. And for Irishmen it has the additional, if melancholy, merit of recalling similar experiences which have not unfortunately had similar results.

The principles set out in the famous report of Lord Durham, of which Mr. Keith reproduces the salient passages, have not yet been applied to Ireland. "It is difficult to understand," he wrote, "how any English statesman could have imagined that representative and irresponsible government could be successfully combined." Yet this is the very system still maintained in Ireland. As far as we are concerned Mackenzie and Papineau might never have rebelled. Again and again the perusal of these documents brings one's mind back to Irish conditions and to English policy in Ireland. "To isolate," wrote Lord Durham, "the inhabitants of the British from those of the revolted colonies became the policy of the government; and the nationality of the French Canadians was therefore cultivated as a means of perpetual and entire separation from their neighbours." Is it not the same policy which inspires a government to terrorise the strikers on the Clyde with trench helmets and machine guns, but permits their brothers of Belfast to hold up the entire municipal life of that city without protest? They must not be interfered with lest they should realise the true meaning of Carsonism and make common cause with the rest of Ireland. And do we not get the full flavour of Irish ascendancy in this extract from Baron Masere's memorandum on the proposed Quebec Act written in 1766:—

> "The French insist not only upon a toleration of the public worship, but on a share in the administrations of justice, as jurymen and justices of the peace, and the like, and on a right in common with the English of being appointed to all the offices of the government. The English on the contrary affirm, that the laws of England made against the Papists ought to be in force there, and consequently that the native Canadians, unless they think proper to turn Protestants, ought to be excluded from all those offices and various branches of power."

So might any Irish Chief Secretary have written to any Prime Minister.

Turning over these pages, one recalls Mr. Erskine Childers' masterly analysis of the analogy between Ireland and the Colonies in *The Framework of Home Rule* and his vivid statement that Ireland "becomes a convex mirror in which, swollen to unnatural proportions, the mistakes of two centuries are reflected." The principles of freedom still denied to Ireland are the commonplaces of colonial policy for nearly a century. "Whatever is good for Australia," said Mr. Chamberlain in 1900, when introducing the Commonwealth Act, "is good for the whole British Empire. . . . We may be vain enough to think that we might have made improvements for the advantage of Australia, but we recognise that they are the best judges in their own case, and we are quite content that the views of their representatives should be in these matters accepted as final." And in the same speech he admits that the self-governing colonies are no longer dependent: "We have got to a point in our relations with our self-governing colonies in which I think we recognise, once for all, that these relations depend entirely on their free will and absolute consent!"

We have travelled further since 1900, for (as Mr. Keith shows) the Dominions now negotiate their own commercial treaties with foreign powers and appoint special Commissioners to look after their interests abroad. Nor will they tolerate any interference in their fiscal policy. The Canadian Government pointed out as far back as 1859 that it cannot "in any manner waive or diminish the right of the people of Canada to decide for themselves both as to the mode and extent to which taxation shall be imposed." The war has evoked a clear consciousness in the Dominions themselves that in the ultimate issue they cannot accept as permanent any position of subordination within the Empire, but must attain in theory and effect a position equal with that of the United Kingdom. On the mode in which that position is to be attained no unanimity of view is yet apparent. Mr. Keith indicates the two principal suggestions which have been made for solving the problem, namely a federation for the limited purposes of foreign policy and naval defence, or a partnership of nations united by effective consultation but not by legal bonds, and he rightly concludes that the first of these suggestions would not now be acceptable to colonial public opinion. That the Dominions now claim and obtain the status of practically independent nations is made clear by the proceedings of the Peace Conference.

Mr. Keith's material is well chosen and well arranged, and the notes, if not profuse, are clear and to the point. There are some obvious omissions. For instance, the date of Lord Durham's

report is not given, and the names of the signatories to the American Declaration of Independence and the delegates to the Quebec Conference in 1864 are omitted. The decisions of the South African Convention, although dealt with in Lord Crewe's speech, might well have been given in full, together with some account of the difficulties it surmounted. The index, which is so important a matter in books of this class, is admirable, and the books themselves are delightful both in format and printing. We trust we have said enough to indicate that these two volumes are indispensable to any student of modern political developments, and we commend them especially to Irish readers, for whom they have a vital interest and application. We hope that someone will compile a similar record to illustrate English policy in Ireland.

JOHN J. HORGAN.

LA PALESTINE ET LES PROBLEMES ACTUELS. (Anonymous). Paris: Beauchesne. 1918. Pp. 56. 1 fr. 15.

ALL Christians have sacred interests in Palestine, and consequently regard with the liveliest concern the problem of its reconstitution after the war. Neutrals will naturally consider the matter from the double point of view of the general interests of religion and the wishes and welfare of the Palestinians themselves. As the booklet we are reviewing does not touch the first of these points and is not very explicit about the second, it can hardly be considered a complete statement of the case. It seems to be chiefly intended as a reminder to French statesmen not to neglect the interests of their country in this quarter. Within these limits it displays all the clearness and competence we are accustomed to expect from French writers on these matters.

We gladly notice, in the first place, that there is no question, according to the writer, of depriving the Palestinians of autonomy. They will have their traditions respected and their separate national existence recognised. But they are so mixed in race and religion that they need the aid, protection, intervention of a great nation to secure their present and future welfare. Internationalisation is rejected as impracticable in a large district like Palestine—everybody's business is nobody's business—and as ignoring France's prior claims. Condominium of France and England would result in the predominance of England and seriously endanger the *entente cordiale*. The question as to what individual nation should administer Palestine must be decided in accordance with pre-war

conditions. Neither the secret treaty between France, England and Russia nor the English conquest of Palestine can have any say in the matter owing to the change of the conditions since the treaty was signed and the solidarity of the allied effort in the war. The writer apparently does not hold the view that neither conquest nor partition pact confer any right to dominion over another people without their consent. But then he is not discussing the case of Poland or, say, Belgium.

France's exclusive claim is based on the fact that for many centuries she has possessed certain rights and exercised certain functions of protectorate in the East, thus supplying the defects in Turkish sovereignty and becoming in the natural course of events Turkey's destined heir. As this protectorate had its *raison d'être* primarily in the Holy Places, whence it became extended to wider regions, it follows that the claim to Palestine is the most fundamental of all France's eastern claims. Moreover, whether we consider money expended, public works engaged in, or schools and hospitals erected and administered, France's interests and benefactions in Palestine leave those of all other nations far behind. And now, exhausted by the war, France has particular need of Palestine to recuperate her losses. However we may view the last reason alleged, we readily grant that, if privileges possessed, interests staked and benefits conferred constitute a just title to the dominion of Palestine, France's title is far and away the strongest.

But what about the Palestinians themselves? Have they not the best right to determine their protector? They should not be given a referendum on the matter, says our author, as they are quite incapable of expressing their own minds correctly. Nor are their representatives in Europe to be believed, as long Turkish oppression has made them unable to take a general view of things or express any but a narrow personal opinion. We agree that a referendum at the present moment would not be a fair test. Palestine has been recently delivered and is actually occupied by British troops. Referendums are easily engineered, and even an honest one is certain to unduly favour the latest benefactor and the man on the spot. We agree, too, that exiles are not always good exponents of the views of those at home. Quite recently we saw Libanese exiles asking for a united Syria and Libanese natives in solemn council asking for an independent Lebanon. What, then, remains if the voice of the nation and the voices of individuals be rejected? The voice of the past must decide, and we are told that the Palestinians have already chosen France in preference to all others. Yes, but how many of them have made that choice? The population of Palestine

is usually put at 700,000, of whom three-fourths are Mohammedans, more than an eighth Jews, and less than an eighth Christians. A majority of the Christians would undoubtedly prefer France, but we have grave doubts about the others. We wonder here if our writer has not misunderstood some of his own statistics. He tells us, for instance :—

> Le nombre des Palestiniens, ainsi soignés annuellement, dans nos diverses institutions, en y comprenant bien les dispensaires, *atteint le chiffre de* 400,000. Notons que la population totale de la Palestine atteint à peine *le chiffre de* 600,000. Nous voyons par là quelle place tient la France dans cette partie administrative essentielle. Il n'est donc pas étonnant que nous ayons conquis le coeur des populations qui savent en donner temoignage, quand elles peuvent parler librement.

How numerous are the sick in Palestine if two-thirds of its inhabitants annually receive French medical aid! According to the statistics given a little further on, there are 46,000 of these in Bethlehem, 64,000 in Caifa and 70,000 in Nazareth. But the populations of these cities, according to the latest edition (1912) of the well-known Palestinian Guide of the French Assumptionist Fathers at Jerusalem, are 10,500, 13,000 and 7,000 respectively. The explanation is that the excellent French missionaries and religious perform annually more than 400,000 separate works of mercy to the sick, but scarcely tend, and thus win the sympathies of, a tenth of that number of persons. The wording at least of the passage cited is a little faulty.

The exposition of the difficulties in the Sionist scheme for a Jewish state in Palestine and the account of French Catholic activities there are particularly good and interesting.

E. P.

Spiritualism.

SPIRITUALISM. By J. Arthur Hill. London : Cassell. 1918. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

THIS work presents a great contrast to that by Sir A. Doyle, also reviewed in these columns (December, 1918), for this is a book by a writer who has seen much, studied deeply, and has a real knowledge of what is meant by scientific proof and scientific disposition of facts. It is not so long nor so full as Podmore's classic volumes, nor has it the convincing character of *Cock Lane and Common Sense* by Lang ; but that is probably because its author wishes to carry his conclusions further than Lang did. Lang contented himself with attempting to prove—and did in our opinion prove—that there were a series of phenomena which were known all over the world and

at all points in history, which are commonly called spiritualistic, and which cannot be accounted for by any natural explanation at present available. Our author urges that these phenomena are due to the action of spirits, some of which have at one time been incarnate, and that thus they are a proof of the persistence of the soul in another life. Thus he goes further than Sir William Barrett in his book *On the Threshold of the Unseen.*

The history of these phenomena is briefly detailed in this book; an account of the spiritualistic "religion" (again Barrett says it should not be made a religion of) is given with a verbatim description of a spiritualistic service which seems to us, if we may speak quite candidly, revoltingly vulgar; and criticisms from various sources are considered. We are at one with the author in thinking that Mr. Clodd's criticisms are in execrable taste, and have already expressed that view in these columns. He quotes Fr. Bernard Vaughan as almost the sole Catholic critic, though he mentions with respect Mr. Raupert's book, the class of facts detailed therein not having, however, come under his notice. There is a careful résumé of Fechner's views; in fact, there is a great deal of interesting reading well set forth in this book. To our mind the most interesting thing is the author's own personality as explaining in some measure the attitude of mind which causes resort to spiritualism.

Sir A. Doyle informs us that the writer is a chronic and incurable invalid: we may assure him of our sympathy, and congratulate him upon the fact that a gentle nature has not been soured by such life-long affliction. He is a man of real candour and of very wide reading in certain directions, even in many directions, though he seems to have left Catholic writers out of his purview. He is one of many who, having been brought up on some nebulous form of religious creed, have found it inadequate when applied to the facts of life. Thus he cannot believe in eternal punishment; he does not know what he believes as to Our Lord, though at the least He was greater than any other man who has ever lived; he thinks that belief in a future life had almost faded out of the world until it was revived by spiritualism; he admits that faith without the evidence of spiritualism is better than that with, but the evidence helps many who would not otherwise believe. Of course, he ignores the two or three hundred million Catholics, not to speak of other millions of non-Catholic Christians, when he speaks of the belief in immortality having died out.

He is further under a grave error when he attributes this to the fact that "even the oldest Gospel was not written until many years after the events described." *Many years!* According to Harnack,

who may be quoted as a thoroughly unorthodox authority, the Gospel of St. Matthew was written in A.D. 70, though Catholic critics put it earlier, somewhere between A.D. 40-43. And all scholars seem to agree that St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Corinthians, in which he proclaims the Resurrection of Our Lord as an historical fact, in the spring of A.D. 55. *Many years!* Mr. Hill and others, looking back into the past, might reasonably agree that twenty to thirty can hardly with any fairness be described as "many years"; for at that date there were living those who were personal witnesses of the resurrection, apart from St. Paul, "born out of due time."

In the author we have one of the many persons *animae naturaliter Christianae* who have never grasped or even approached the philosophy of the Catholic Church; who have never had the opportunity of realising its breadth, its persuasiveness and its logic; who know only one of the less logical forms of belief (his Protestant quotations are either from Nonconformists or the late Rev. Mr. Haweis—not exactly a pillar of orthodoxy); and who in consequence plunge into spiritualism and find in its manifestations a solace and a religion; nay more, an explanation of many passages in the Bible which, like others of his belief, Mr. Hill thinks only explicable on spiritualistic lines. It is truly lamentable that the writer and other *homines bonae voluntatis*—for that they are—cannot find opportunity to look into the claims of the Catholic Church as set forward by her own children, not as travestied in popular Protestant manuals. Never had the Church such an opportunity as she now has after this war, which incidentally seems to have dealt other forms of belief a shrewd blow. But the greatest opponent she will have to meet is Spiritualism. B. C. A. W.

Every Irishman's Library.

MARIA EDGEWORTH: Selections from her Works. With an Introduction by Sir Malcolm C. Seton, K.C.B.

THE COLLEGIANS. By Gerald Griffin. With an Introduction by Padraic Colum.

CARLETON'S STORIES OF IRISH LIFE. With an Introduction by Darrell Figgis.

Dublin: The Talbot Press. 1919. 3*s.* 6*d.* net each.

THE three volumes mentioned above constitute a very notable addition to the popular series of books which the Talbot Press has given us under the title of *Every Irishman's Library.* It is no idle phrase we employ when we say that no Irishman's Library would

be complete without them. Battles have been fought, are being fought, and are likely to be fought in time to come, over the merits of these works, but of their genuine interest for students of Anglo-Irish literature there can be no question. Maria Edgeworth, Gerald Griffin and William Carleton are names that occupy a permanent place among writers of that school. Praise is due, therefore, to the Talbot Press for placing the works, or selections from the works, of these eminent authors in the hands of Irish readers at so reasonable a price.

But the Talbot Press has done more. Each volume contains an introduction from the pen of a well-known writer of the present day. Sir Malcolm Cotter Seton acts as trumpeter, so to speak, to Maria Edgeworth, Mr. Padraic Colum to Gerald Griffin, and Mr. Darrell Figgis to William Carleton. So whether your taste inclines to the style of the early nineteenth century or to that of the early twentieth, you can gratify it by the perusal of one or all of these books. The General Editors—Mr. Arnold Graves, Professor William Magennis, and Dr. Douglas Hyde—are entitled to congratulations on their choice of "Prologue" to the stories set before us.

It is too late in the day now to enter into a detailed review of the merits or demerits of this famous trio. (We refer to the Authors, not to the Editors). The Ireland of which they wrote has, moreover, ceased to exist. Emancipation in matters of Religion and Land, and Emigration, coupled with the inevitable changes which must occur in the passing of a century, have altered in great measure our social life. The somewhat stilted style, as it appears to us moderns, adopted by novelists of the early nineteenth century militates also against popularity, and imparts an air of artificiality to their work. True, Maria Edgeworth is compared with Walter Scott, and the position of "The Wizard of the North" is seemingly unassailable. It must be admitted, however, if we are to say what is true, that Scott is at present more revered than read. He has become a schoolroom classic. Parents hand his novels to their children to improve their taste and increase their knowledge while they beguile their own leisure with Bennett or Wells, or the less austere fiction which they obtain from the circulating libraries.

Sir Malcolm Seton, in his notice to the selections from Maria Edgeworth, writes in an admirable strain on the much debated topic of the "Stage Irishman." He points out very aptly that Englishmen do not complain because Mr. W. W. Jacobs "exhibits the denizens of the Docks in a frivolous aspect." If an Irish author were to write thus of the toilers of the North Wall he would be

torn to pieces at home—and extolled abroad. Therein, of course, lies the sting. But as Sir Malcolm well observes, "Irishmen . . . trouble themselves excessively about what English people may think or say of this, that, and the other Irish matter." We do not suggest that Irish writers are entitled to caricature deliberately their own people for the sake of English money; but there is no need, on the other hand, to insist on a population of Saints and Scholars as something indigenous to this island. The temptation to caricature exists, however, for it is the caricature that secures the circulation. Thus George Birmingham's earlier works, such as *The Seething Pot* and *The Bad Times*, while they are far superior to his later efforts, of which *General John Regan* is the most striking example, are not by any means as popular or well known to the generality of readers. Circumstanced as we are, a necessity for some discretion does exist. Mr. Darrell Figgis remarks of Carleton: "No man has more nobly and more adequately exhibited certain essential parts of the Irish character; and yet it is true that few men have been more responsible . . . . for certain silly misconceptions that an enemy has been only too ready to form." The true man does not wittingly or willingly give the enemy occasion to blaspheme.

Mr. Colum's prefatory words to *The Collegians* are a little disappointing. In the first place they are too few; in the second they concern themselves too closely with the facts of Griffin's life. One would prefer from his pen a more general discourse on Anglo-Irish literature and this novel itself, such as Sir Malcolm Seton, for example provides in respect of the volume entrusted to him. It is interesting, however, to read of Gerald Griffin's scruples in throwing himself into the character of his creations. "He denied," Mr. Colum tells us, "that it was right for an author to put himself into the position of a particular character and endeavour to feel his position for a moment. He came to regard as dangerous 'such works of imagination as were founded upon deep and absorbing passion.'" And Mr. Colum adds that when Griffin "became convinced that people's feelings should be kept 'in the line they ought to go in' he was finished as a writer." Most readers of fiction will concur in this judgment.

Whether a wide public can be found to interest itself in these books dealing with a day that is dead is a question that the publishers will be in a position before long to answer. It is, at least, problematical. Sir Malcolm Seton is quite right when he points out that while "Irish men and women should read Irish books, they naturally turn for relaxation to read of unfamiliar people and

scenes." For the same reason people go abroad for a holiday; the hackneyed tag of Horace is as untrue as it is popular. Right is also on Sir Malcolm's side when he remarks that for an "agreeable guide" to the everyday life of Ireland at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century it would be difficult to excel Maria Edgeworth. Much the same may be said of Carleton and Griffin—and what more need we say?

WILLIAM DAWSON.

Miscellaneous.

A WRITER'S RECOLLECTIONS. By Mrs. Humphrey Ward. London: Collins. 1918. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

MRS. Humphrey Ward was described once by another brilliant woman of letters as "a great woman without genius." The "Recollections" persuade one of the truth of that description. She has wonderfully interesting things to tell and people to talk about, yet somehow the "Recollections" is a dull book. It is not fused with personality, or at least the personality it reveals has something portentous and solemn in its air. It is surprising how many brilliant people fail when they set out to write reminiscences. Mrs. Ward, the maker of many arresting novels with the sure hand in every line of the writing, has failed as a writer of Reminiscences. Not that she has not extraordinarily interesting things to tell. She was in the movement all the years of her life. She met most of the people of her day who were worth the meeting—that is to say, the well-assured people. Everyone in her circle had arrived and been acclaimed. There is never anyone in doubt. No promising youngsters entered the circle—no half-divine disreputable, afflicted by human weakness for all his halo. I was acquainted with Oxford of the late eighties, and felt the glamour of it from the neophyte's point of view, as I felt the glamour of editorial offices and publishing houses. I appreciated the contrast between the surging tide of youth that filled Oxford from October to June, and the age-old Colleges. I discovered that the surging tide of youth, unless it came with strong social commendation, had little part in the life of Oxford. Oxford Society was for the middle-aged and the old, and it was dry-as-dust. Something of the dry-as-dust lies over this book. Mrs. Humphrey Ward knows the country-house life of well-to-do and aristocratic feudal England, past perhaps for ever, like a book. It explains somewhat her vogue in America. But the atmosphere of the well-to-do and the aristocratic is too much in these Recollections. It depresses one as does the atmosphere

of upper middle-class English life in Patmore's *Angel in the House.* One is tempted to say, "Away with these prosperities!" It seems ungrateful to write in this way of the one who has given us such joy with *Lady Rose's Daughter*, with *Diana Mallory* and *Eleanor* and *The Marriage of William Ashe*, books which charmed while one read. In a manner of speaking, the "Recollections" have the material for a dozen good books of Reminiscences: they are, in a sense, a review of the great later Victorian days—"dans le mouvement." Doubtless they will be read with avidity by thousands on both sides of the Atlantic for the people and the things they describe; but they lack just *That*, and the *That* is the sense of humour which would have made the whole thing vital. Mrs. Ward is incapable of laughing at herself and others. "Rarely, rarely comest thou, Spirit of Delight." It came to us only once in reading these Recollections, and it came for a story of Emily Lawless's mother arriving at a country house and saying to her hostess:—

"My dear, you don't want me to come down smart? Of course you don't! I've bought some smart gowns. My daughters make me buy them. But they'll just do for my maid to show your maid."

"And,"(adds Mrs. Ward) "they lay on the wardrobe shelves for the remainder of her visit."

A streak of Irish in Mrs. Humphrey Ward would have made a world of difference in these "Recollections."

KATHARINE TYNAN

FOR SECOND READING: Attempts to Please. By Stephen Gwynn. Dublin: Maunsel. 1918. 4*s.* net.

THIS volume of essays, reprinted from various sources, and prescribed "for second reading," will probably attain in many instances the third or fourth reading which the author considers the only test of real literary merit. One may not agree with all his views, but they are set forth in crisp and graceful language, and generally expressed with a sort of gentle diffidence which disarms criticism. Light and entertaining as they are, rather than profound or subtle, there is a serious undercurrent in most of the papers. "The Luxury of doing good" conveys a very useful lesson to the would-be benevolent. "Farewell to the Land" and "Men and their Work" are really much better exponents of the dignity of labour, especially agricultural labour, than many a wordy theological and industrial treatise. "Books that put me to sleep" resolves itself into an entertaining little dissertation on books which are worth reading a second or third time, and the very special pleasure to be derived from this

re-reading. There are charming descriptions of a March day in Italy, of a holiday in South Germany, of ten days in an unfrequented Moroccan seaport. "A Sunday in Donegal" and "Mass on the Hillside" might be described as companion pictures—alike, yet how tragically dissimilar! In both of these papers Mr. Gwynn reaches a very high level, more especially in the second, which describes Mass near the trenches on Christmas Day, 1916. Its reverent appreciation of what Mass meant to those Irish soldiers, with horror and tragedy within touch on all sides, is conveyed in words all the more poignant from their quiet restraint.

Clarence Mangan and "Æ" get a paper each: one is tempted to quote the attractive names of many other papers. Mr. Gwynn possesses the essential attribute of the successful essayist—no matter what his subject, he secures your attention at once and keeps it to the end.

C. M.

CATHOLIC HYMNS FOR THE PEOPLE. Edited by James Martin Raker. Wilton (Wisconsin): Catholic Music Press. 1919. $1.00.

This hymnal is, we believe, the best that has yet come to us from America. We see but one limitation to its deserts and chances of a wide popularity and usefulness, and that is its price. How a dollar-priced volume is to be got into the hands, memories, and voices of the general hymn-singing multitude the author does not tell us; but perhaps he has some plan in reserve. Apart from this practical question, the collection deserves nothing but praise. What is really serviceable and not too difficult is throughout aimed at; yet there is nothing (or very little) which can give reasonable offence to the critic of musical or literary technique. Respect for Catholic tradition and reverent religious feeling are evident in the selecting and editing of tunes and words. The compiler gives proof of wide knowledge of hymnology (especially on the German side), good taste in using its treasures, and a nice talent as translator.

In Ireland we have long been awaiting a resurrection in improved form of the *Armagh Hymnal*, whose appearance some years ago had excited, but ultimately disappointed, strong hopes. Nothing but expectancy of seeing ere long something from Irish hands destined for Irish congregations could qualify our desire to see this American hymn-book receive a very warm welcome here as elsewhere.

G. O'N.

FERNANDO. By John Ayscough. London : Long. 1918. 7*s.* net.

JOHN Ayscough is always sure to be interesting. His fiction strikes us as truth, his truth is as captivating as fiction. It is not surprising that he has tried the *genus mixtum*, and here we have a specimen—not his first—of autobiography garnished with free inventions. There are half-comic pictures that remind us of Dickens ; there are acidulated domestic conversations that remind us of Thackeray. The history of Fernando's soul involves weightier elements ; but style can make all things light, and here matter and style are very much the author's own and do not disappoint. G. O'N.

Books also received :

CHARLES AUGUSTINE, O.S.B. A Commentary on Canon Law, Vol. II. (Herder, 10*s.* 6*d.*)

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